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# THE NEW ERA IN HOME AND SCHOOL

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## Pre-Service Units—Sociological Considerations

David Jordan

Goldsmiths' College

THE question of the continuance of the existing pre-service training units after the war, the nature and form of their organization and the sociological implications of the movement have received very little notice from the protagonists of post-war educational and social reform. Even the report of the 1942 'Bedford Conference of the English Section of the N.E.F.' maintained a discreet and possibly studied silence on this question. Perhaps even as late as 1942 the pressure of events and the uncertainty of the international position made it unwise to raise questions about a piece of social machinery so intimately linked with the problem of national safety and survival. But the march of events and the growing strength of the United Nations has made it possible to think of post-war reconstruction from a rational viewpoint uninhibited by fear, and to ask for a careful appraisal of existing trends in the light of the kind of society we desire to re-create after the war is over.

Mr. Pinsent has pointed out the necessity for a sociological approach to the curriculum (*New Era*, September-October 1943). 'In practice', he says, 'it seems necessary to consider not only abstract disciplines, values and personalities, but also the kind of world we must, or ought, to educate pupils for.' This general argument is as applicable to youth activities as to the material and method of approach in school-work. Both have to be placed in a significant social setting if they are to be seen in their proper

perspective, and must be related to the purposes and functions of the adult world in which the youth has finally to take his place and play his part.

On account of the numbers involved alone, the pre-service units have a special place and provide a particular problem within the general framework of youth service. Assuming that their numbers are reasonably maintained after the war, they will be the largest and most powerful formative unit conditioning the mind of adolescent youth in this country. Moreover, their organization makes use of very different incentives from other forms of youth service; they are, as their name clearly indicates, pre-service units. Their primary object is the inculcation of forms of knowledge and attitudes directly related to the successful management of war situations, though in many cases there will be a considerable carry-over of value into various forms of civilian life. They have arisen to meet a distinct need at a time of national necessity; their contribution has been universally recognised and acclaimed, and one suspects that in terms of national provision they have benefited from a national generosity unprecedented in the history of youth organization. Of their value to the nation in terms of the necessities and compulsions of the present there can be little doubt, their popularity among youth cannot be called in question, but we should be extremely unwise to maintain them in future *merely* because they have been of service

in the present war situation. An appraisal of their potentialities for individual development and of their rightful place in a peace-time scheme of things is now due. They may be able to justify their pride of place, their present social acceptance and their claim to establish and maintain national morale, physical fitness and mental alertness, but we need more open discussion of the problems associated with their continuance and their potential effect upon other important aspects of national life. If, after such consideration, their claims are accepted and their place in the national scheme of things is generally understood, they should be better able to maintain in a peacetime world the favour and prestige with which the war situation has endowed them.

The Debate in the House of Lords in November 1943 on the future of cadet organizations may perhaps be taken as typifying the opinions and attitudes of the government responsible for their formation. It was then stated that it was the Government's intention to continue the cadet organizations of the three services on a voluntary basis after the war, and that they should be continued to be regarded as a valuable part of the national organization for the service of youth. Their work was warmly praised; Lord Munster said that they were undoubtedly instilling into boys the spirit of self-discipline and personal responsibility, which, besides fitting them for the services did a great deal to check the increase in juvenile



delinquency. The Earl of Harewood described as 'electrical' the effect on juvenile crime where there was a good cadet organization. He wished for a boy up to the age of 18 to have an opportunity, within the scope of his training, to learn how to direct some of his attention from private and selfish living to service where he might be enabled, if he wished, to give his strength and brains to the service of King and country. The Earl of Airlie spoke of the obvious neglect of youth in the past and of the real desire of youth, only coming to light in the stress of war, to give some form of service to the country. There had been a sorry lack of self-discipline in the national make-up, and the sooner it was re-established the better. It was not militarism to inculcate in the mind of youth the idea of service to the State and to their fellow-men and to the world. The Duke of Montrose also spoke of the need for the rising generation to have greater opportunities to learn the principles of self-discipline, moral rectitude, and joyful happiness in physical fitness. Wherever an effort had been made to organize youth and do something for its social reform, juvenile delinquency was lower. He did not favour the suggestion that the Cadet forces should be put under the Board of Education. If that were done 60 to 80 per cent. of those serving in the cadet forces would resign.

Much of this, of course, can scarcely be accepted at its face value. Can it be proved that as the numbers enrolled in pre-service units has increased in the last few years, the extent of juvenile delinquency has steadily declined in the age-group concerned? Obviously, if the effect of joining a unit is really 'electrical' there should be a high correlation. That the existence of the pre-service units, in common with other youth service activities, has helped to provide a stabilizing influence for the adolescent during the war years is undeniable. From that point of view they have been of great service, but much of the instability which they have to correct is itself a part of the war situation. For four years these young people have known little of the values and ideals which mankind normally approves. They have known death, swift and sudden, and mutilation,

slow and lingering, as a part of everyday experience. They have queued up side by side with the leaders of their local community, to stick their saving stamps on bombs which will deal mutilation and death to people on the other side; homes broken up by evacuation or requisition or the calls of the armed forces, in many homes the male element entirely removed. This sorry tale could be unfolded at great length. We need to think more frequently and more seriously about the effect of this kind of environment on our growing youth. The remedy for its deleterious effect on personality can be found in no single organizational nostrum. What time and experience has tended to destroy only time and experience can rebuild. The building of individual personality will be largely determined by the way in which we rebuild society. Let our young people be organized to serve the immediate needs of their fellow-men in the post-war period; there will be much to be done. Youth does desire to give service, but must it necessarily be expressed in terms of uniform, parade ground, and varying types of service instruction?

We can agree with the noble Lord who deplores the neglect of the past and speaks of the desire for service on the part of youth '*only coming to light in the stress of war*'. But having postulated the presence of the desire, he then wants an organization to 'inculcate' it and proceeds to defend it against a hypothetical charge of militarism. This is the result of a particular sociological viewpoint which is being challenged by the march of time and which its holders feel they must therefore bulwark and defend.

What a pathetic commentary on pre-war society this is. No social dynamic is present, no adequate avenue is provided in our acquisitive society through which the desire for service can find communal expression. It is only in war that we have discovered a unified national purpose on whose behalf 'blood and tears and sweat' may be confidently demanded. Service to one's country therefore tends to be thought of in these narrow terms. Moreover, the by-products of such service would be extremely useful after the war to those who want to preserve the *status quo*. Post-war periods are notoriously

periods of difficulty and may easily become periods of rapid social change. What better petrifying factor could be introduced than that adolescent youth should have its time sufficiently well-organized to prevent the spread of radical ideas and should acquire the habit of unquestioning obedience to its 'superiors'? We can scarcely enter here into a general argument as to the nature of society, but at least we can say that no organization dealing with a majority of the nation's youth can be decided upon without reference to the kind of adult society we wish to establish and maintain. If we are to go back to national allegiances instead of forward to international law, private profit incentives instead of public needs, national armed forces instead of international control, to the attitude of Cain (am I my brother's keeper) rather than to the Good Samaritan's, then the old forms of organization, the old incentives, the old narrow allegiances will still serve. But, if it is our intention to build a new society, the old form in which service was conceived will be inadequate. In the newer terms it will have two forms of expression—individual and communal. Individually it must mean an increase in neighbourliness, what the apostle James called 'visiting the widows and fatherless in their affliction'; for that there is no organizational substitute in any system. Communally it may mean any form of constructive work undertaken for social rather than individual ends in our own time: site clearance, afforestation, care of public gardens, conversion and adaptation of premises, and so on. Local needs will suggest a variety of public service which could be fruitfully rendered.

We shall need to approach the problems of peace with the same sense of urgency and high endeavour which we have hitherto confined to the problems of war. If we do so there should be no question of mass unemployment but rather a continuing shortage of necessary human labour, particularly in view of probable population trends. Some form of military training for youth may still be considered desirable by the community, but it is extremely doubtful whether it should take up more than the minimum of time necessary for efficiency.



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# **Writing & Writing Patterns**

by **Marion Richardson**

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Neither does it seem necessary to put youths into uniform and make them subject to Service Department control in order to teach them elementary astronomy, mathematics or engineering. That would seem just about as sensible as maintaining the Home Guard at its present strength on the ground that the excellent work of A.B.C.A. could then be continued after the war. Military convention has established certain forms of discipline and methods of inculcating it; the armed forces have their own peculiar sense of values. It is the function of the pre-service units to adopt these forms, methods and values and impart them to their youthful members. It has yet to be proved whether a nation can remain or become a truly democratic society if its youth is made too susceptible to standards of judgment, disciplinary methods and behaviour patterns based on non-civil and non-democratic situations.

One aspect of pre-service unit organization calls for particular notice, namely, its connection with the schools. The secondary schools have in most places preferred to establish units distinct from the

town units. They are usually confined to their own scholars or old scholars and are officered by members of the staff. Behind the establishment of these separate school units lies a whole complex of individual and institutional interests, quite unrelated to the welfare of the cadets or the service of the state. Many headmasters feel that it is part of their business to exercise oversight over the whole of the time of their pupils; if an A.T.C. or other unit is to be started it must therefore be controlled by the school; moreover, the prestige of the school will be raised by starting a pre-service unit. Some masters undoubtedly felt the appeal of the right to wear an honoured uniform with none of the disabilities normally attaching to it; some saw an opportunity to strengthen the case for personal reservation from military service; some have always wanted to hark back to the 'good old days' of strict discipline and mechanical obedience, and now find an opportunity to gain both individual satisfaction and social approval within the new form of organization. Some were doubtless inspired by a desire to render

service in the war emergency. Motives are as complex as the situation in which they arise and the establishment of school units is dependent upon a number of factors which in the course of time become particular forms of vested interest.

Once the school unit is established three main difficulties arise. First, willingness to undertake this form of work is increasingly being made a condition of appointment for assistants in secondary schools. Even when not specified as an essential pre-requisite in the advertisement of the post, it appears very early in the preliminary interview. To allow extraneous duties to become a determining factor in appointment must in the long run be detrimental to the general work and life of the school. Moreover, the kind of person who may be most willing to undertake this kind of work might for that very reason be least suitable as a member of the staff.

Second, the calls on the time of the pupils and the probability of overstrain is by no means negligible. Apart from the question of the physical suitability of stamping,



jerky physical movements for adolescents, there is the difficulty of fitting in the normal routine of compulsory homework with the pre-service training at the end of a normal school day. And what happens to the traditional school societies which have been the great feature of British secondary schools in the past?—the debating society, the literary society, the photographic society, the stamp club, the film club, the historical society, the geographical society, and so on. Having no uniform or subsidies, can these compete with the cuckoo in the nest? And what, one may ask, is the effect on family life of all this extra-family organization? It is an important question which parents have asked themselves, but which does not seem to have

occurred to those who want to revive the sanctity of family life after the war.

Our third difficulty with school pre-service units is that the relationship between pupil and teacher becomes a dual one—semi-military, as cadet and officer, and non-military, as pupil and teacher. But it is doubtful whether this clear dividing line can be drawn and maintained, or that the attempt to maintain it will be made. The semi-military relationship is unalterable; that is fixed by the rules of the service departments which administer the pre-service units. What we are likely to get, therefore, is a gradual conditioning of the class-room and school atmosphere in the wrong direction. The elder boys, who act as prefects, will

tend to interpret their function in the familiar parade ground terms; masters who doff the uniform and don the gown may find a change of attitude more difficult than a change of dress and think of 'discipline' in the classroom in the same semi-military way; progress towards a self-ordered democratic unit then ceases and a semi-benevolent autocracy with no social dynamic takes its place.

We have yet to assess the impact of the pre-service units in terms such as these. The school society can scarcely remain unaffected by the newest and lustiest of its subsidised offshoots. Yet only at its peril can it really assimilate a movement which is not amenable to experiment, growth and development in democratic terms.

## The Handwriting of Depressed Children

By H. J. Jacoby

SOME thirty or forty years ago the handwriting of children was paid attention to mainly from the penmanship point of view. It was noticed that some children are able to produce 'beautiful' handwritings while others produce 'bad' ones. This crude division soon led to the very complex question: what causes—psychological, physiological or mechanical—are responsible for 'bad', *i.e.* defective or disturbed writing in children? Once this question was raised, medical men, educationists and handwriting analysts in many countries, assisted by Education Authorities, became increasingly interested in the study of child handwriting and investigated it by means of controlled experiments, serial tests, apparatus (the graphodyne) and the method of the science of expressive movements.

The knowledge which has since accumulated in respect of the diagnostic value of the handwriting of children is vast; so vast, in fact, that a mere enumeration of the literature on this special subject would take up all the space of an issue of *The New Era*. Almost every aspect of child handwriting has been studied and explored. The handwriting of mentally defective children was treated by Lomer, Becker, Herfort and Kobilinski. The connection between disturbances of speech and those

of writing of children were studied by Ranschburg, Goldzieher, Dirr and Rothe, while defects of eye and ear and their influence on handwriting were first described by Kresta and Urbantschitsch. The developmental stages of childhood and adolescence as shown in writing were followed up by Crepieux-Jamin, Goldzieher and Legruen. And changes of writings of children due to illness and treatment respectively were studied by Prof. Karger and Scholtz.

The most exhaustive research, however, has been made into the psycho-pathological aspects of child handwriting. Peter, Stengel-Buchheim, Meyer-Benz and Karger, among others, have given us an insight into various typical handwriting structures of problem children, from which teachers, child psychologists and medical men alike can derive benefit in their work with children. From their findings the fact emerges that the handwriting peculiarities of problem children are a useful means of diagnosis. The class teacher can usually dispense with such a diagnostic means in the case of the over-aggressive or slightly anti-social child who will make so many claims on her attention as to be easily recognised as a problem. There is, however, a group of children who are little trouble in class and yet are a problem all the

same, *viz.*, the group of depressed, anxious or discouraged children. Even the enlightened class teacher who is willing to consider these children as a problem usually finds great difficulty in picking them out from a class of, say, forty children or more. It is here that some, if ever so elementary, knowledge of their handwriting expression may prove useful to the class teacher.<sup>1</sup>

The extensive research made into the writings of problem children of the depressed and apprehensive type has yielded three symptoms, one of which invariably shows in their handwriting:

- (1) The writing movements are under-emphasised;
- (2) Various groups of characteristics, primarily the degrees of pressure, speed and size, are disproportionately constellated; and
- (3) the rhythm of movements and formations is disturbed, *i.e.* instances of sudden pressure or incalculable fluctuations of the writing angle or similar kinds of rhythmic disturbance occur.

For lack of space, the present article is confined to the discussion

<sup>1</sup> In two of the examples which follow, great improvement was brought about in the condition of the child by conscious reassurance on the part of the teacher. It will be realized of course that the causes of some anxieties lie too deep to be helped in this way and that expert advice from a Child Guidance Clinic must in that case be sought.



of the first-mentioned symptom only, the under-emphasis of writing movements. Virtually all the investigators of child handwriting have observed that a great proportion of apprehensive and easily discouraged children tend in their writing movements towards contraction and deflation (according to an investigation carried out in conjunction with handwriting experiments, the breathing, gait, posture and gestures of these children seem to follow the same pattern). This tendency finds expression in the following group of handwriting characteristics:

- (1) particular smallness of letters in the middle zone (m, n, u);
- (2) marked leanness, *i.e.* avoidance of bulging loops (in l, b, g, etc.) and of circular or oval forms (in a, o, d, etc.);
- (3) marked narrowness of letters which may show either in the distance between downstrokes within a letter such as m, n, u (primary narrowness) or in consecutive letters being squeezed together (secondary narrowness);
- (4) retardation of the writing tempo, showing in a lack of fluency of movements; the strokes, being hesitantly penned, are slightly wobbly;
- (5) feeble pressure exerted.

Additional indications of lesser importance observed are: too wide distances between words; angularity; loops in the lower zone (in f, g, j, y) being meekly bent leftwards; occasionally strained, heavy, inelastic pressure exerted.

The five main characteristics enumerated have a tendency in common which seems to be highly significant for the discouraged child: they are all expressive of a tendency to shrink from expansion.

In avoiding full, bulgy forms, the child contracts spatially in a manner which denotes a withdrawal and repression of his imaginative and emotional life. In penning his letters small, the child shrinks from expansion in the vertical direction, an indication of his lack of self-assuredness and enterprise and his need for encouragement. In narrowing down his writing movements, the child involuntarily refrains from expansion in the horizontal direction, indicative of inhibitions and apprehension in respect of personal relationships. In retarding his writing tempo, the

child shrinks from enjoying his own activity and displays a lack of spontaneity and ease in his approach to his work. And in exerting a faint pressure only, the child shrinks from the friction between pen and paper, which denotes a repression of his energies and concomitant faintheartedness, uncertainty of aim and feelings of insecurity.

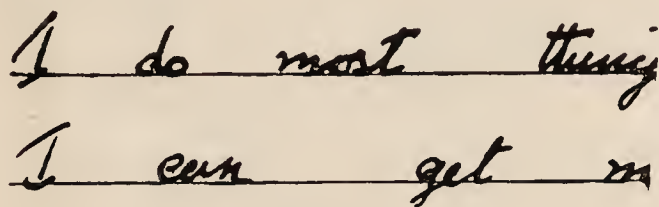


Fig. 1

The characteristics to be looked for will be found in the specimens of handwriting reproduced which were penned by depressed and anxious children. Fig. 1, written by a girl of 11 years and 2 months, shows a considerable degree of smallness, narrowness within letters, considerable leanness, slightly retarded writing tempo and a fair amount of pressure. In addition to the deflationary complex of smallness, narrowness and leanness, we notice secondary indications such as too wide distances between words and occasional angularity. The features enumerated indicate that the girl is in need of some attention on the part of the teacher or of some child guidance treatment. Timidity, fear of emotional contacts and feelings of loneliness and insecurity are expressed in these lines. The child will react over-sensitively to a slight rebuke. She will, however, bottle up and withdraw her emotional life to such an extent that her problem may well escape the notice of her class teacher. In a case like this, the handwriting indications serve as an index to the girl's actual state of mind.

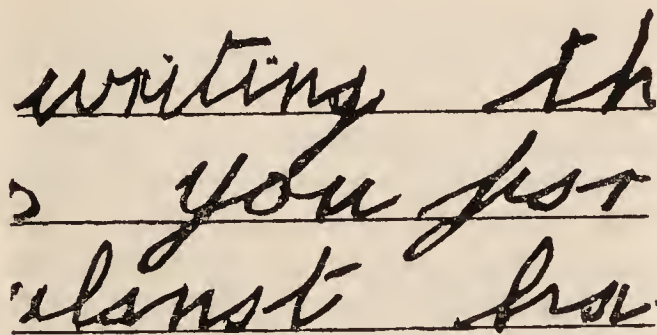
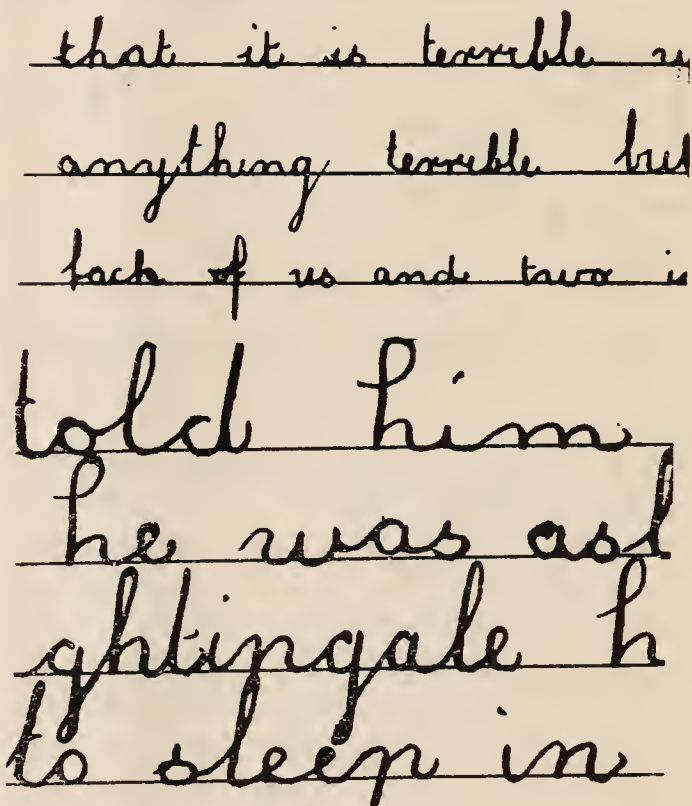


Fig. 2

In fig. 2, written by a boy of 10 years and 2 months, the syndrome of a depressed frame of mind is expressed in some narrowness, a high degree of leanness and a

similar degree of retardation of writing speed, to which may be added a high degree of angularity and a conspicuous tendency to bending the lower lengths and loops (in f, g, p, etc.) in the leftward direction. While these indications clearly point to a state of considerable discouragement, emotional inexpressiveness, listlessness and susceptibility to black moods, the boy was no trouble in class at the time when the specimen was penned, but began to become a problem three years later. An early diagnosis of his difficulties could well have been made from his handwriting and might have saved much of the trouble he suffered in later years.

However, some basic knowledge of handwriting indications will not only enable the class teacher to surmise which of her children presents a problem and needs special attention, but it can also

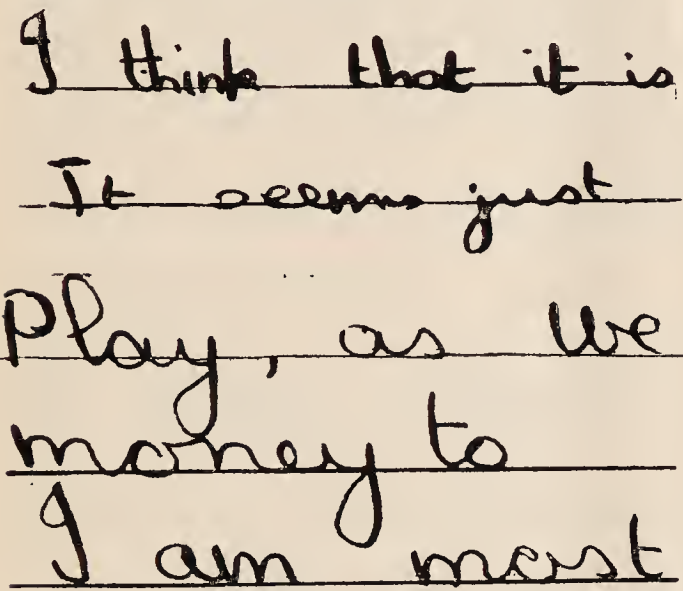


Figs. 3 and 4

prove useful in another respect, *viz.*, in following up the development of a child picked out as a problem. The following two cases may serve as illustrations. Fig. 3 was written by a girl of 9 years and 4 months. Her depressed state of mind and helpless and insecure attitude towards life is at once recognizable in the unduly small size of her letters and the feeble pressure used. Her teacher, paying attention to the handwriting of her children and noticing this handwriting picture of a depressed child, decided to help the girl overcome her difficulties if possible. About a month later the girl appeared to her to be more cheerful, self-reliant, alert and energetic, in response to



her help. In order to find out whether this impression was indicative of a superficial or profound change in the girl, the class teacher consulted again the girl's writing, a specimen of which, written a month later than fig. 3, is represented in fig. 4. While there is no change discernible in the formation of letters, the changes of those characteristics which revealed the depression and discouragement of the child are very strongly marked. The pressure used has considerably increased, and the writing has generally expanded in size, width and fullness. These changes show a fundamental improvement of the condition of the girl.



Figs. 5 and 6

A similar improvement is registered in figs. 5 and 6. Fig. 5 was written by a girl of 10 years and 11 months. It is small, retarded in tempo, and some letters are squeezed together (in: 'think that it'). Although these instances do not look alarming, the teacher was advised to keep an eye on the girl and give her as much encouragement as possible since she tended to be easily depressed. The teacher took the advice, with the result that the handwriting put on the different complexion shown in fig. 6, which was penned by the same girl four months later, at the age of 11 years and 3 months. The movements have expanded in size, fullness and width and have turned more elastic, flowing and relaxed if compared with those in fig. 5. They indicate a correspondingly relaxed and active mind, relieved of its former bent towards discouragement and feelings of frustration.

These few illustrations may suffice to indicate the twofold way in which the teacher may benefit from paying attention to the handwriting

of her children: it can serve her as a means of picking out a problem child, and its changes will serve her as an index to any change in the child's condition.

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[Dr. Jacoby will be giving a course of lectures on the handwriting of delinquents in January and February (starting on January 14th) at the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency. For particulars, apply to the Secretary, 17 Manchester Street, W.1.]

[The writer wishes to express his thanks to Miss L. Hawkey, teacher, and Dr. A. A. E. Newth, Senior M.O., School Dept., C.C., Nottingham, for their kind permission to use the handwriting specimens figures 1, 3 and 4 for this publication.]

## Letters

FINCHAM FARM,

ROUGHAM,

KING'S LYNN, NORFOLK.

Dear Dr. Winnicott,

I write in reference to your article on 'Delinquency Research' and the short paper on the same subject by Dr. Kate Friedlander, which was sent me by the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency, to which I subscribe. I have always been interested in the application of Psycho-Analysis to crime and delinquency, and since I have been appointed a magistrate and chairman of Quarter Sessions my interest has become very practical. I am interested in what you say about environment and external factors, because to change the environment of a delinquent is the most usual procedure by a magistrates' court. It is very difficult, outside London, to arrange for a delinquent to be analysed, and the court must therefore consider the alternatives of a fine, imprisonment, probation, borstal, sending to an approved school, or binding over with or without some condition imposed. The trouble is that the magistrate—I speak for myself here, but believe I am typical—knows practically nothing about borstal, or the approved schools, and not very much about the methods and skill of the probation officer; in his case one can only judge by results. What is wanted at present is a bridge between modern psycho-analytical knowledge, as exemplified in your article, and ordinary criminal court procedure and practice. In your consulting room you can concentrate on the good of the patient; in court we have to think of the good of the community as well, and this complicates matters. Our tools, in court, are very crude and blunt, and it is difficult to balance the desire to turn the person before one into a valuable member of society, and the desire to deter other wrongdoers. I am not a great believer, myself, in the deterrent effect of punishment, but a number of magistrates are, and I have to take account of their views. It is discouraging when, as happened the other day, a youth of about 17 who committed various thefts and was given a talking-to by me and treated leniently, comes up before



the court again very soon after for exactly the same type of crime. What is one to do in this sort of case? Being in a thinly populated part of the country, over 100 miles from London, one's choice of action is limited.

If ever you have time to consider these rather general, but extremely practical, problems, and write me your views, I should be most grateful.

Yours, etc.,

ROGER NORTH

44 QUEEN ANNE STREET,  
LONDON, W.1.

Dear Mr. North,

I am glad to learn that you, as a magistrate, have been interested in my comments on delinquency and Dr. Friedlander's article, and I do very clearly recognize that the psychologist has little to offer the magistrates. Indeed, I made these points in my article: that the magistrate has to express the unconscious revenge of the public (legal procedure being an attempt to prevent lynch law), and that the psychologist has much research to do before he can fully understand the good work that is done intuitively by the right kind of magistrate, probation officer, etc., and that it is doubtful whether the actual psycho-analytic treatment of delinquents and criminals will ever become valuable to the community, because so much has to be done in order fundamentally to alter an individual. It is only from the point of view of research that the psycho-analysis of a delinquent is sociologically justifiable, and it is for this reason that I am very strongly in favour of it. May I emphasize once more that we recognize that we psycho-analysts have a limited *quantity* of help to offer magistrates in the way of direct therapy!

Your letter stimulates me to make a few suggestions of a more practical nature which could perhaps actually help the magistrate who is, like yourself, trying to understand the deeper issues involved. The fact is that, whatever the Court does that is useful always turns out to be something very personal. All sorts of schemes and ideas can be thought out, but in practice the good work is always done by some individual in intimate contact with the child who is in difficulties.

As far as I can see it, a Court can only do one of the following things:

(1) In a few instances, the child's home is good; in this case the child is best left there where a strong and united father and mother are able and willing to manage him. When a child gets into trouble in such circumstances, it is usually because he has been led astray by some less fortunate child. Although this solution is seldom available, it should always be remembered that it is the best one, and that parents are the proper guardians of their own children.

(2) Much more frequently the child's home is only just good enough for the child to be left there while under the personal care of a good probation officer, who then becomes the person who makes the difference. The probation officer supplies something missing in the home—love backed by strength (in this case the strength of the law).

It should not be forgotten that the probation officer can undertake only a certain number of cases because of the emotional strain that the work involves, and that he (or she) needs definite and compulsory off time and holidays.

(3) Frequently the child's home is not good enough for him to be left there, even with the help of a probation officer. In this case a hostel must be found—a good one—which can supply the love and the strong management which these children absolutely need. At the present moment almost the only hostels suitable are those set up for evacuated children who are difficult to billet. In my opinion it is important and significant that these hostels are sponsored by the Ministry of Health, and not by the Home Office, which means that public revenge is not involved.

(4) A proportion of children coming before the Courts are too far gone for a hostel to be able to manage them, and they can be controlled only through strong management which would be very bad for those who are not so ill. Here public revenge has become involved, and the Home Office must be responsible.

It is in the matter of hostels (third alternative) that the psychologist should be able to give practical help to a magistrate, for a psychologist can formulate the principles involved, and also can make practical suggestions in regard to hostel set-up and management.

I would strongly advise a magistrate to get involved in the setting up and management of a hostel, such as one of those that already exist for evacuated children who

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are difficult to billet, for only in this way can he become acquainted with the real issues involved in the approved schools to which he must somewhat blindly send so many of the boys and girls who come under the jurisdiction of his Court. He could draft to such a hostel some of those children who come under category 3 in the above classification.

Those of us who have had practical experience of such hostels and who have gone through failures, and partial failures to comparative success, can help the magistrate to go ahead with some promise of immediate success, which means that through the use of the hostel a number of children can be saved from actually being sent to an approved school.



This does not mean that Approved Schools are all bad, though they cannot avoid being (like prisons) institutions for the spread of criminal education, but there is a very big waiting list for the approved school, and nothing is worse for a child than an indefinite stay in a Remand Home.

It can be said at once that a hostel has to be small to be valuable—12 to 18 children—that the policy should be to keep the children till they leave school, and that everything depends on the Warden. He should be a married man, and he and his wife should be joint wardens. These two must be strong enough to be able to show deep love. Sentimentality is absolutely ruled out.

The Warden and all the staff should be personally visited, and informal talks about the children are essential. Only by this means can the child be thought of by the staff as a whole human being with a history of development and a home environment, and a present-day problem.

The choice of the cook and of the gardener is second in importance only to the choice of the Warden, and indeed each member of the staff, charwoman included, is either a great help or a great hindrance.

The children must be carefully sorted before being drafted to the hostel; one unsuitable child can upset the appletree, and lead to the rapid degeneration of a hostel situation that is otherwise well in hand. Classification is better built on an assessment of the child's

home (that is to say, on the existence or non-existence of the home and on relative stability of the parental inter-relationship) than on the badness of the actual symptoms or misdemeanour for which the child has been referred to the Court.

It would obviously be impossible for the magistrate to be entirely responsible for the hostel, whose interests would not be identical with those of the Court, and whose failures must not be able to damage the Court's dignity. But I should have thought that the Home Office would be glad to support the idea of the magistrates' interest in such a hostel, sponsored by the Ministry of Health, and the magistrate could then be a member of the Hostel's House Committee.

These and many other general principles could be easily written down, and it is in this way that I think the psychologist has something definite and practical to offer the keen magistrate of a Juvenile Court. Yours, etc.,

D. W. WINNICOTT.

2 HARLEY HOUSE,

UPPER HARLEY STREET.

Dear Mr. North,

Your interest in Dr. Winnicott's and my own remarks on some problems of delinquency is gratifying because the practical application of our psychological research work is to a large extent in the hands of the judicial authorities. As Dr. Winnicott and myself have pointed out, we neither of us believe that psycho-analytic treatment of the individual offender would—except in very rare cases—prove to be a solution in the treatment of delinquency. Delinquency is a social problem much more than a purely psychological one. Therefore the treatment of delinquency will remain in the hands of those authorities who are instituted by society to guard the community against those who break its laws. That, of course, does not mean that the treatment of the offender by these authorities has necessarily to be a kind of punishment—the results of which are rather hazardous, as you yourself point out. There are other means under the existing law by which magistrates can institute treatment which could result in the eventual social adaptation of the individual offender. We may call these means

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of treatment 'social treatment', and the methods by which it can be applied are: probation with or without removal from home, removal to an approved school or to a Borstal institution.

As a matter of fact the English law provides for the social treatment of the larger percentage of juvenile offenders, and there will be only a small number, mostly amongst the sexual offenders, who cannot successfully be dealt with by one or other of these methods, and for whom psychotherapy is the method of choice. The results of these social methods are not as positive as they might be, because too little attention is paid to choosing the appropriate kind of social treatment for the individual case of juvenile offender, and too little attention is given to the training of all the workers in the field.

Dr. Winnicott discusses the significance of home conditions in deciding which kind of social treatment would be appropriate. He also emphasizes some of the main characteristics of a good hostel so that I shall confine myself to other problems connected with the choice of treatment. On what grounds, apart from home conditions, can one decide which kind of social treatment is appropriate for any given case? This problem is intimately bound up with your question as to what to do in the case of the boy of 17. My main point is that before any treatment can be decided upon a correct

## EDUCATION HANDBOOK

EDITED BY E. W. WOODHEAD

**A background for urgent problems :—  
Social Setting - Function of University -  
Infant, Junior, and Secondary Education -  
Ability and Opportunity - Rural Education -  
Young Peoples' College - Education for Industry and Commerce -  
Adult Education - Teachers' Training -  
School Architecture.**

Contributors include: E. W. Woodhead, F. H. Spencer, W. G. S. Adams, Catherine Fletcher, S. R. Gibson, E. G. Savage, H. Lowery, H. Morris, C. G. Stillman.

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diagnosis of the causes leading to delinquency has to be made.

Take the case which you mention in your letter of the youth of 17 who, although you treated him leniently, very soon afterwards committed the same type of crime again. Such a case will probably be taken as evidence that lenient treatment is inappropriate and some kind of punishment necessary. This, of course, is a fallacious conclusion, but it is one that tends to confuse the issue. The first duty of either Court or analyst is, of course, to try to ascertain why this boy has developed anti-social tendencies. The mere fact that he steals does not reveal anything about the motives behind the anti-social act, and his appropriate treatment will depend on the motive, not the delinquent act. Let us discuss a few of the possibilities :

(1) Under present economic conditions it is very unlikely that the boy's stealing was necessitated by starvation. Every boy of 17 can now earn his living. A few years ago that would have been a possible motive, though a rare one.

(2) The boy, influenced by friends and still in the emotional upheaval of puberty, may have committed an anti-social act for the first time, probably as an aggression directed against some person in his environment. He would probably feel very guilty about his stealing. Under these circumstances a talk and lenient treatment could prevent further delinquent acts. This treatment would be the correct one because it would confront the boy with the reality situation which he is *able* to assess, but which he had forgotten to consider under emotional stress ; it would also prevent such a boy's being driven into further delinquent behaviour by harsh punishment and would avoid bringing him into contact with criminal characters. But it must be admitted that anti-social behaviour in a boy of 17 is rarely due to such an uncomplicated motivation.

(3) It may be that a careful history will reveal that this boy has committed anti-social acts ever since he was seven or eight years of age. He may or may not have been found out ; he may always have stolen, or he may have shewn other signs of anti-social behaviour, such as truancy or running away from home, lying, cruelty to animals or human beings. Furthermore, such a boy may be friendly and apparently co-operative, or he may be aggressive and unco-operative. He may be intelligent or stupid, he may come from a good or a bad home, he may

have already been punished for some of his misdeeds and may have shown different reactions to different kinds of treatment. But apparently none of the methods used so far has cured the anti-social behaviour ; otherwise the boy would not have come before the Court again.

Few of these facts can be elicited without a detailed social history of the case, a physical and psychological examination, an assessment of intelligence. Not only are these various examinations essential, but it would help very much, especially in more complicated cases, if a short period of observation in a scientifically controlled observation centre could be made possible.

It may seem extravagant to propose that every case coming before the Juvenile Court should undergo this extensive and expensive procedure. On the other hand, the application of an inappropriate treatment will in the end prove much more expensive than the preliminary diagnostic procedure, apart from harming the delinquent. After all, if somebody is suffering from a pain in the stomach and the doctor prescribes a medicine without examining the patient, the doctor's name might be erased from the Medical Register if the case proves to be a carcinoma. The Magistrate, by being asked to prescribe treatment without sufficient preliminary examination, is really put into the position of such a doctor.

You may tell me that facilities for an examination of the kind which I describe are not easily available yet. But Magistrates interested in the way you are can already adopt a very similar procedure. In most cases the probation officer can take a social history before a decision as to treatment is made. Cases which do not seem clear can be sent to the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency, where such an all-round examination is done as a matter of routine. If the Court is too far from London, an examination can be undertaken at the nearest Child Guidance Clinic, where recommendations for social treatment will be made, though proper facilities for psychotherapy are usually not available. A much closer co-operation between the various agencies involved would, of course, be necessary in order to guarantee that the treatment even-

tually proposed by the Magistrate on the basis of these various preliminary examinations will be effectively carried out. Watson, in his book *The Child and the Magistrate*, discusses the possibilities which are already available under the present system.

Much could be said about the necessity for a uniform training of all those dealing with delinquents, whether social worker, probation officer, the staff of approved schools or Borstal institutions ; it should be recognized that only workers having this special kind of training should deal with delinquents. But we cannot enter into this question here.

Yours, etc.,

KATE FRIEDLANDER

## THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS

The following resolution was adopted at the meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Women Teachers held in London on the 4th of December.

'That the Central Council of the National Union of Women Teachers takes strong exception to the discrimination on the grounds of age and sex shown in the latest arbitration award of war allowances for teachers, and reiterates its demand for a flat rate bonus.

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# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Bulletin No. 14  
January 1944

by Hilda Clark, Organizing Secretary, E.N.E.F.  
Cleve Cottage, Cringleford, Norwich

**D**URING the last few months there has been very rapid growth in the establishment of local branches. This is at the same time a tribute to the enthusiasm of our local branch officers and an indication of the very widespread interest in education, and especially in the White Paper. It may also be regarded as one of the evidences of the ever-growing realization that progress is possible, but is not inevitable; that the future does lie in our hands; that it is our responsibility to see that we know and understand what forces are shaping our future and to make certain that the shaping is to our liking.

## Barnet, Enfield and Southgate

This autumn a series of discussion group meetings has been well supported. The White Paper and the Conference Report on it were considered. On October 21st Mr. David Jordan led a study circle and gave a general survey of the White Paper. On November 24th Mr. King led a discussion on 'Religion in Schools—the rock on which the Bill may founder', and a further general discussion on 'The Weak Parts in the White Paper' was arranged for early December. These discussion group meetings will continue in the New Year and provisional arrangements have been made for open meetings in January and February. Mr. Lauwerys and Mrs. Beatrice King are among the speakers who have promised to come. The membership of the branch is steadily increasing, and should very soon pass the fifty mark.

**Bingley** On October 24th, three E.N.E.F. members, one non-member, and the Organising Secretary met in Bingley to discuss the possibility of forming a Branch. The results were that the non-member joined the Fellowship, and a public meeting to inaugurate a Branch was projected. This was fixed for December 3rd, when Mr. Kenneth Barnes spoke on E.N.E.F. policy and the Education Bill, and Miss Fletcher was in the chair.

**Birmingham** At a meeting held on Friday, October 8th, it was decided to re-form the Birmingham

branch. The following activities have been suggested, but others may be added at the wish of members: 1, A public meeting early in the New Year. 2. Discussion groups: suggested topics—(a) Recent Government reports on Education, (b) The betterment of local Education services, (c) The Educational requirements of Industry, (d) Juvenile delinquency, and (e) Young People's Colleges. 3. Local survey Project, Record cards and their uses. The Secretary (Mr. C. H. Hamilton, 24 York Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham) would be very glad to have information from members on the subject of Record Cards, especially from those who have had experience in their use.

**Bristol** The inaugural meeting of the Branch was held on Monday, October 25th, when Mr. Woodhead, Chairman of the E.N.E.F., spoke on the function of the Fellowship. The meeting was held at the University, and invitations had been sent out by Professor Fletcher. Eighty-five people were present, and a number of them joined the local branch.

**Cambridge** A meeting was held at the end of September, when Professor Victor Murray spoke on the Fundamentals of Educational Planning, and Mr. V. Ogilvie gave a short history of the N.E.F. and the English Section. On November 14th the work of local branches was discussed with the Organizing Secretary. A Committee was set up, and it was suggested that the Branch should make a survey of films of educational interest available free or at a small charge. Later the Committee decided on a somewhat less ambitious plan for the present: to arrange a large meeting for the showing of films as a means of attracting the interest of parents and others outside the teaching profession. It is hoped that the film survey will come later.

**Derby** Meetings have been held on B.B.C. Education; A Unified system of Education in all Schools; Free Medical Services and School Meals; Adequate Provision of Nursery Schools and Classes. In January a public school master is

to open a discussion on 'The Case for Public Schools after the War'.

**Exeter** The Branch is planning an 'Education Brains Trust' to take place in December or January. The aim is to interest a wide public by getting several well-known speakers.

**Golders Green** At a meeting in early November the possibility of local investigations and general branch work was discussed. The Branch has now formed study groups which are meeting in members' private houses, the aim being to prevent excessive travelling in the black-out. Each group is choosing two or three aspects from the White Paper as discussion material, and is to give a report on its findings to a general meeting of the branch in the New Year.

**Harrogate** A meeting was held in October when the Organising Secretary spoke on the E.N.E.F. and the White Paper. The discussion which followed centred mainly on the question of compulsory religious instruction in schools. The Branch decided to hold fortnightly discussion meetings, using the recently published *Education Handbook* (edited by Mr. Woodhead) as a basis; members of the 'Harrogate Discussion Centre' are taking part in these meetings.

## Leytonstone Library Discussion Group

The Secretary, Mr. Radcliffe, has sent this account of the group's activities: With its meeting on November 26th, when an address, 'Educational Reconstruction—Can we afford it?' was given by Dr. A. Plummer of South West Essex Technical College, the group completed a year of activity. Thirty-nine meetings have been held, the average attendance being nearly 60. The Autumn Session opened with a broad survey of the White Paper proposals. Six subsequent meetings have discussed the main sections in greater detail, all being opened by members who have given short papers on the topics under consideration. Two—possibly three—further meetings on the White Paper will be held. A meeting on Juvenile Delinquency



was arranged by a lucky chance to be held just after the Hereford case had been reported in the daily press. Miss Amy Holman, a Juvenile Court Magistrate, was the speaker, and discussion was most spirited. A lengthy report of this meeting appeared in the local press. On November 9th the group was joined by the local branch of the Nursery Schools Association, when films of Russian Nursery Schools were shown. These proved to be as informative as they were enjoyable. Plans for the New Year are in hand. A paper on 'Continued Education' will be given at the first meeting in 1944 by the headmaster of a very successful evening institute. This will be followed by an address by Dr. P. Dunsheath, head of the Education Department of W. T. Henley's Telegraph Works, on 'The Industrialist Speaks', and, shortly after, the commission of group members who are at work on 'The Needs of Industry' hope to present their findings. A meeting on Chinese Education is being arranged. The M.O.I. film, 'The World of Plenty' is being shown and will be discussed; meetings on 'Broadcasting in Education', 'Vocational Guidance' and so on, are being arranged, and where desirable outside speakers are being booked. Interest in the group's activities continues to spread. Expressions of goodwill from those unable to attend are frequent, and recognition of the educative value of the meetings is freely accorded.

Below is a summary of the views of the group on the question, 'What do you think is the necessary minima of educational facilities after the war?':

The answer, so far as our members are concerned, is 'We do not think in terms of minima but of maxima'. All the expressions of opinion point in that direction. Opinion varies on method, but there is unanimity about the goal. That is the cohering factor in the group, that which makes the frank exchange of views possible while actually advancing the spirit of friendliness, that which keeps the attendance consistent, and gives the members a sense that they are engaged in a worth-while task. An expression of opinion that always meets with emphatic approval is that, all the resources of the community, material, physical, mental and spiritual should be

developed and utilized to the full for the benefit of the members, individually and collectively. There has been too much in the past, for instance, of citizens being the servants of industry. Henceforth industry should become the servant of the citizens. There has been an awareness that one class exists in the main to be served, and another to render service, and that the educational system has been a reflection of the social set-up. In future, such class distinctions should be swept away, and unless a Common School is instituted, which all children should attend, irrespective of the social and economic status of their parents, it will be felt that we remain two nations, and that the war will not have brought unification. People want to be told less about their obligations to the state; first because they feel that the state exists for them, not they for the state; and secondly because they *want* to serve a community that renders true equality of opportunity to all; they are more concerned with their *rights* to serve than their obligations, knowing that they cannot develop fully as individuals without identification with their fellows.

It is therefore impossible to state minima of educational provision. The very expression savours of the 'we' and 'they' outlook referred to by Sir Stafford Cripps—'they' who shall decide what 'we' may have; 'we' who are gratefully to accept what is preferred by 'them'. The majority of our members will look at key points in any projected educational scheme. If those points suggest that a truly democratic approach to education has been made, they will support the scheme; if not they will arduously oppose it.

**Liskeard** A week-end conference was held on November 20th-21st, organised by the W.E.A., with the help of a number of other individuals, including one of our very enthusiastic members, Miss J. Loretto (now Mrs. Grimer). There were lectures by Mr. J. A. Lauwerys on 'Education: Britain and her Allies'; by Mr. Oliver Bell (British Film Institute) on 'The use of the Film in Education', and by Mr. Stafford (Director, Plymouth B.B.C.) on 'The use of the Radio in Education'. There were also several discussion groups.

The outcome of the week-end was that the Secretary of Education for Cornwall is to organize a conference on Curriculum Reform; that a survey of post-war needs in Cornwall concerning 'Visual Education' is to be made; that the planning of post-war international interchange of school-children is to be undertaken, and the possibilities for Cornwall explored.

**Luton** On October 2nd a meeting was held in Luton Modern School, when the chair was taken by Miss M. Williams. The subject was 'The School and the School-child of Soviet Russia'. The talk was most interesting and stimulating and thoroughly enjoyed by those present, numbering over 100. Many questions were asked, and the answers covered a wide field of information. The meeting was followed by a tea and social, and it was felt that the spirit of the Fellowship had been fostered. Several new members were enrolled. On November 13th a one-session conference was held in Luton Town Hall on Educational Reconstruction. For this many Societies co-operated, the chief being the N.E.F., W.E.A., the Co-operative Education Committee, the N.U.T., the Head Teachers' Association, the Religion and Life Council, the A.A.M., the Nursery School Association, the Luton Youth Council, the Women's Co-operative Guild, etc. The speaker was Mr. J. H. Newsome, M.A., County Education Officer for Hertfordshire. After the address, over 20 resolutions, which had been sent previously to the Secretary, were discussed. A report of the meeting was sent to the President of the Board of Education, the local M.P., the Mayor, who is also Chairman of the Education Committee and to others interested. Discussion groups have also been active during the last few months. It is proposed to have a meeting in the New Year on 'Youth in Industry'.

**Manchester** The first public meeting was held on December 4th, when Mr. Woodhead was the Speaker, with Prof. Oliver in the chair. The acting Secretaries have been very active in getting support for this; they have approached the Co-operative Society and Guilds, the W.E.A., Magistrates, teachers and parents.



**North West Kent** A series of meetings have been held on various aspects of education; the speakers have been mainly local and the size of the meetings has gradually increased. The Branch is working with the W.E.A. Branch in the area, and has also co-operated with the Council for Educational Advance and other organizations in the district. In addition the branch has secured a good deal of publicity in the local press, partly by letters from members, partly by getting the interest of a local reporter.

**Norwich** In the Bulletin for May, 1943, a questionnaire was published which had been prepared for use in interviewing the 16-year-olds on registration (the E.N.E.F. branch had permission to act on the panel of 'interviewers'). Eighty-four boys and a hundred and seventy girls were interviewed, none of whom were members of any club or organization.

An account of the results will follow shortly; it has been omitted through lack of space.

Another group in the Norwich Branch has been discussing Juvenile Delinquency and has taken as the basis a questionnaire drawn up by the Howard League for Penal Reform. The questions, with the answers drawn up by the group, are as follows:

#### WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS?

1. Transferring the duty of dealing with delinquent children from the Home Office to a Ministry of Education and Child Welfare (or some similar title).

*Yes—this would lead to a closer link between school and child and would more nearly approach the Boarding School ideal. This, in turn, would bring those schools under the L.E.A. and possibly make for better conditions. No stigma would attach to the child.*

2. The raising of the age of criminal responsibility to that of school-leaving age.

*Yes—because educational consideration should be paramount.*

3. As a corollary the abolition of the juvenile court for children of school-leaving age.

*Yes—this follows naturally.*

4. The institution of Youth Courts, more formal than the existing court

but with modified procedure, for adolescents from school-leaving age to 21.

*Yes—under the Juvenile Court, the child is just a police case and after the case, police interest ceases; whereas, under the Youth Court (part of the Educational Service) all these cases would be followed up.*

IF THE FIRST THREE SUGGESTIONS WERE ACTED UPON, WHAT MACHINERY WOULD YOU CONSIDER DESIRABLE FOR DEALING WITH BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS: IN PARTICULAR, WOULD YOU APPROVE:—

(a) The provision by the Ministry of Education and Child Welfare of all special schools for all children with any handicap, physical, mental, psychological?

*Yes, provided that 'sufficiently serious to prevent them being dealt with in the ordinary school' be inserted after 'handicap'.*

(b) Observation centres for problem children, whether delinquent in the present sense of the word or not?

*Yes, provided that the Observation Centres are adequately staffed by qualified people under a psychiatrist and an educationist, and that the centre is in congenial surroundings.*

(c) Provision of Child Guidance Clinics?

*Yes, because at the Child Guidance Clinic the parent and child are given equally serious attention.*

(d) Appointment of Social Welfare Workers trained to perform the duties now performed by a good juvenile court probation officer?

*Yes—not, however, on the lines of the Probation Officer, but rather as a link between home, school, clinic and club, e.g. the type of training to be that now given to psychiatric social workers.*

(e) Visiting teachers, specially qualified to help with backward and difficult children not removed from the ordinary schools?

*No—the provision should be made adequate within the school.*

(f) Organization by all Education Authorities of parent-teacher co-operation, with Advice Centres where parents could learn something of the basic principles and methods of child training, and especially how to cope with some of the common difficulties which hamper parental control?

*Yes.*

If all this were done, what proportion of cases of serious misbehaviour e.g. persistent stealing, malicious damage, sexual offences, etc., do you consider would remain which could not be dealt with satisfactorily by sending the child, with his parent's consent, to the clinic or school, whether day or boarding school, whichever seemed most suited to his need?

*Almost negligible.*

FOR THESE CASES THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS?

(i) That the Juvenile Court, more or less as at present constituted should remain for this residue of cases, with Child Welfare Councils on the Scandinavian model.

*Child Welfare Councils should be set up, the personnel recruited from psychiatrists, doctors, young magistrates, social welfare workers, club leaders, Ministers with special youth training and educationists. The Council should have approximately equal numbers of men and women.*

(ii) What would you suggest as a satisfactory Court of Appeal to which aggrieved parents might have recourse?

*A paid official working on circuit with judicial standing and working in conjunction with the Child Welfare Council.*

The Branch has also held a one-day Conference on the White Paper and the E.N.E.F. Conference Report. This was conducted on discussion-group lines, after the manner of the Summer Conference with meetings of the groups at lunch and tea, and for the concluding session. A further conference is arranged for 22nd January, when the White Paper provisions for adolescents and adults will be discussed.

**Nottingham** A general meeting was held in December, when Mr. H. C. Dent, Editor of the *Times Educational Supplement*, spoke on 'Prelude to the Education Bill'. He commended the Fellowship and said there was every need for an independent body to discuss educational reconstruction. He stressed the 're-writing of the responsibilities of parents and L.E.A.'s,' the necessity in the future for adequate technical education, and the need for adult educational facilities. Mr.



F. Stephenson, Nottingham Director of Education, who presided said that it was essential for the public to give backing to the White Paper, or they would not get what was wanted. The people must realize that the bright new world for their children would not come unless they fought for it. In October a discussion group on Education and Industry was led by Mr. F. Coe, Headmaster of Boot's Day Continuation School, and Mr. R. Ratcliffe, assistant manager of a Royal Ordnance Factory. The latter pointed out the complexity of organization of modern industry, and stressed the need for both vocational and cultural education in continuation schools. He considered that part-time voluntary vocational education was futile, and asked for better organization of educational facilities for the adolescent. He deprecated, too, the 'stranglehold' which the school certificate exercised in the education of adolescents. Mr. Coe described the conditions at his school, and said that he would welcome more time for his work, each student being now limited to one half-day per week. One of the most stimulating of our discussions followed.

During the same period a sub-committee has been engaged in drawing up a report on the Curriculum of the Primary School, which is shortly to be ready, while another small sub-committee has been doing some research work. A meeting is being held on November 27th to consider the Committee's report on the White Paper and the Annual Meeting is to take place on January 15th, 1944.

**Reading** The first meeting of the 1943-44 period was held on Wednesday, 20th October, and took the form of an open discussion on Homework, a discussion which proved to be most spirited and informed. Though no resolution was passed, the meeting was definitely 'memorable', homework being pronounced a 'Bad Thing'. A month later the Director of Education for Reading, Mr. F. V. Merriman, opened a discussion on 'The Classics in Education', and members spent an entertaining and profitable evening.

A leaflet, worded as follows, has been circulated to Reading Schools by Mr. March :—

### *Art in Education.*

'In the Schools of the present, what part does Art play? In the schools that we hope will arise after the war, what part is Art going to play? As a help towards answering these important questions, the Reading Branch is organizing an Exhibition of Children's Art to be held in the Art Gallery during the fortnight beginning April 1st, 1944. It should prove interesting and helpful to all who have the cause of true education at heart, and your school is cordially invited to take part. In order that the work exhibited should be the children's spontaneous expression, there will be no rules for them, the few that follow being for the guidance of the teachers concerned.

1. The exhibition is in no sense a competition, and neither individual nor school names are expected to appear.

2. Each exhibit must bear the age of the child who produced it.

3. All work sent in must have been done since 1st April, 1943.

4. Any child who is attending a school within the Borough of Reading may exhibit work, and there is no age limit.

5. There are no restrictions as to the media used.

6. All work on paper is to be submitted flat and, if possible, mounted.'

Mr. D. March, Pendragon Hall, Reading, would be very glad to hear of any activity of a similar nature undertaken by other members, and to know their experiences.

**Sheffield** The Branch here is very vigorous. Several meetings have already been held, including one where Mr. Merifield spoke on the work of the E.N.E.F. The Branch has started a local bulletin. Extracts from the first edition are:

Tuesday, November 16th, at 6.30 p.m. in the Fitzwilliam Room, Grand Hotel, Councillor J. H. Bingham will address a members' meeting on 'Sheffield's proposals in relation to the White Paper'. Visitors will be welcome.

Monday, December 6th, from 5 p.m. at Southbourne, Clarkehouse Road, by kind permission of the Principal, a Members' Evening to meet Mrs. Hilda Clark, Organizing Secretary of the E.N.E.F., and to

get to know one another. The programme will include an 'Open Half-Hour' during which as many as may will outline—in not more than four minutes each—any aspect of education to which they wish to draw attention. Cups of tea will be served during the evening.

*These Suggestions were made on October 26th. Comment is invited.*

1. A *Speakers Panel* to be formed of members willing to speak to societies and groups on various aspects of education. Volunteers please state the subjects preferred.

2. *District Groups* of six to ten members to meet at their own arrangement in a member's home, local school, etc., and perhaps to study some special subject. Will any members who can help to form such groups or who have suggestions for discussion please inform a committee member.'

**Wembley** The Secretary wrote in November: 'The Branch met last on October 15th when Miss Mina Specht gave a most interesting talk about her International School work. Animated discussion followed. Some of the younger branch members are busy collecting information about the 16-18 age in this area. Two other members are experimenting with modified Dalton methods in their forms. The branch has first contacted a small body of people interested in the Parents Teachers Association. We are meeting on November 26th with a view to amalgamation for our mutual benefit.'

**York** Two study groups are active, one discussing Administration, the other Boarding Schools. The branch held its Quarterly Meeting in November, when the W.E.A. North Yorkshire Secretary, Mr. G. H. Thompson, spoke on 'Adult Education—What does it amount to?'

From these notes on Branch activities it seems clear that there are many people interested in education, anxious to learn facts and discuss ideas on the subject, who are very ready to join the Fellowship and who find in it the support and stimulation they otherwise lack. Through local branch activity they gain information, clarify ideas and see the necessity for action, both on a local and national scale.



## Book Reviews

### Basic English and Its Uses.

I. A. Richards. (Kegan Paul. 3/6).

We, whose native speech is the nearest approach to a World Auxiliary Language, scarcely realize to what a scandalous degree Babel has become a curse—how much waste, confusion and frustration there is because of the multiplicity of tongues. We must do one of two things—either choose an artificially designed language and get it taught in all schools everywhere; or we must choose an existing national language, strip it to the bone, and simplify its grammatical structure until it becomes easy enough to be adopted everywhere as a second language.

Both President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill are in favour of the latter alternative. The Prime Minister has spoken of Basic English in glowing terms and has announced that a Cabinet Committee is now considering what official action should be taken with regard to it. His speech aroused very widespread interest: it seemed strange that a master of the rhetorical arts should be so favourably disposed towards an instrument of communication as austere and self-denying as that devised by C. K. Ogden.

Since that speech nearly everyone has learned that Basic has a vocabulary of about 850 words, and that it employs only 18 verbs ('operators'). But beyond this point, ignorance with regard to it is as profound as before. Now, however, in a short and exciting book, I. A. Richards explains how English can be simplified; talks about the aims and policies of Basic; describes the Basic English teaching films which have already been produced; discusses how teachers could use Basic to give their (English) pupils a better understanding of their native language, etc. I. A. Richards is the most original and by no means the least influential literary critic we have; he is a philosopher of no small distinction; and, above all, he has long been closely associated with C. K. Ogden, with whom he collaborated in the work which led to the discovery and invention of Basic. This book is authoritative, and its appearance removes the last excuse of those who discuss Ogden's work without understanding what he set out to do. It must be confessed that there are many such. I have been in the habit, for nearly ten years, of advocating the merits of Basic and its value in education. On the whole, I have found that people of a scientific turn of mind have been sympathetic and favourably disposed, whilst those whose training has been chiefly literary argue, in many cases heatedly

and emotionally, against it—all the more so if they know little about it. Indeed, the violence of their reaction is often so great as to prevent their even enquiring into what Basic is, while their arguments do more to expose colourful prejudice than a capacity for dispassionate analysis. I hope that Richards' book may help to remove these misunderstandings. In many ways it may well be more successful in this direction than anything Ogden himself could have written. For Richards can say many things which the inventor of Basic himself could not. In particular, he succeeds, by incidental remarks, in conveying some impression of Ogden himself, with his learning, his wit, his humour, his humanity and, above all, his sensitiveness to language and to literary beauty. Ogden knows more in theory about the nature of language and of verbal communication than anyone else in the world, and to suggest, as some have done, that such a person could make proposals likely to impoverish our language or to prove inimical to the flowering of our literature, is to exhibit insufficient realization of the breadth and sweep of his thought.

The movement of world events is rapidly carrying the English language into a position of unique importance. More and more people everywhere desire to learn it and to adopt it as their second language. This fact is

bound to have repercussions on our own educational schemes. Furthermore, Basic English is a practical proposal for aiding the more rapid unification of the world by simplifying international communication. It behooves us all, as teachers and internationalists, to learn all we can about it. Richards' book is an excellent introduction—the best now available.

J. A. L.

### Future Education and Training for British Industry.

Tudor J. Jones. (Harrap. 5/-).

This book is very puzzling. Side by side with many broad statements of educational ideals with which most informed people will agree, there is a strong advocacy of a work-based education in works schools for children over the age of 14. It is not at all clear what proportion of the child population are recommended to undergo this so-called 'occupational education' nor how they should be selected, except that they should have 'technical ability' (page 52) and that industry should be able to absorb them. But a few pages further on (pp. 59 and 60) the author also says 'such, therefore, is a brief outline of a practical scheme which would provide for the selection, guidance and pre-vocational training of *all* juveniles on their introduction to British industry'. To the reviewer the scheme seems far from practical, and the author is so much out of step with current educational thought that on page 51 occurs the phrase 'avoiding as far as possible the unnecessary confusion of giving too much attention to those who at present leave the elementary school at 11 or 12 years to commence the secondary education'. Frankly, Mr. Butler's solution of secondary education for all seems very much sounder than the curious system, if system it can be called, which the author suggests.

There are in the book such curious suggestions as that in the 'occupational centres' between the ages 14 and 15 the work would include *comprehensive* scientific training, possibly interspersed with a limited number of subjects of general education. The instruction, it is said (p. 5) should also include elementary economics, elementary psychology and an introduction to scientific management including first principles of time and motion study! On page 28 occurs a short paragraph which seems to be a complete *non sequitur* and almost humorous in its suggestion 'on public schools should therefore, in view of the particular nature of the responsibilities associated with high management, continue to supply the specially trained administrators possible in increasing numbers'.

## The World We Mean to Make

and the part  
of Education  
in making it



MAXWELL GARNETT

A searching and widely-ranging study of education in the post-war world. The first part sets the political background. The second part is an analysis of the qualities of the good citizen. In the third and fourth parts Dr. Garnett applies his conclusions to the principles of education generally and to English education in particular.

10/6

FABER



The whole book suggests that the author sees the world far too much from the point of view of the 'efficiency' man in business. No one would contradict him when he recognizes that people are happier in jobs that suit them than they are in unsuitable ones, or when he emphasises the importance of sound economic systems in securing wider human happiness or when he accepts the responsibilities which business must have for the education and well-being of its work-people. He does seem, however, to relate too much of human life and growth to the organization of industry. Important as this relation undoubtedly is it can only be regarded as one of many factors which should determine the structure of education.

Much of the writing is over-wordy and at times it reaches an almost mystical vagueness.

E. G. Savage

### Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools. (H.M. Stationery Office. 1/6).

Better known as the Norwood Report, this document needs careful and critical study. It raises difficult problems which will need solution very soon. The danger in this case is not, I think, that the Report will go unread, but that too many people will read it and regard it as Holy Writ.

The document might fairly be called 'The Proper Education for a Superior People'. The committee were directed to consider suggested changes in the Secondary School curriculum and the question of examinations in relation thereto. Secondary education, of course, may have many meanings. The Report makes this clear, and as soon as is decently possible the Committee wash their hands of responsibility for other forms of secondary education and concentrate on that typical English upper-class institution the Grammar School. Here we find the grammar school ideal and tradition refurbished for modern times. If readers want suggestions about other types of secondary curriculum they must go elsewhere to get them.

The Report accepts with conviction the principle that the curriculum must fit the pupils, not the pupils the curriculum. It follows that for psychological reasons the grammar schools are not fit places for all the pupils who have had to use them (or suffer them) during the past forty years. In actual fact these schools have tried to fulfil incompatible aims and have lost that unity which is essential for good educational practice.

Secondary schools must be differentiated to suit different types of intellect and interests. The Report suggests three main types of intellect which, I think, can be indicated aptly enough by the terms Abstract Type,

Technical Type and Any Others. To correspond with these it proposes three types of secondary schools—Grammar, Technical and Modern. The appropriate curricula would seem to be (a) studies for their own sake; (b) studies for the sake of industry, trade, and commerce; and (c) a balanced training to enable pupils to take up the work of life (whatever that may mean). It is scarcely necessary to specify which curriculum is intended for which type.

Obviously some arrangements will be needed to sort out and direct pupils to their proper destination. The Report follows the White Paper in recommending a break from primary to secondary education at 11+, but this committee acknowledges that, in many cases, the *special* abilities and interests which must determine the optimum curriculum for each pupil *do not make their appearance till the age of 13 to 14 years*.

Now, here's a state of things! We are to choose pupils for their proper future schooling at 11+ in accordance with special abilities and interests which may not mature till 13+. (The writers of the White Paper either deliberately ignored this little difficulty or were blissfully ignorant of its existence—probably the latter.) The Committee make the obvious and indeed inevitable proposal—all three types of secondary school must have a Lower School with, for the first two years, a common curriculum. Then, at 13+, there is to be a second sorting out and a transfer of the 'misfits'. Which means, of course, *two* breaks instead of one for quite a significant number of pupils—by no means a satisfactory pedagogic procedure.

No indication is given as to which lower school any given pupil will go into. Presumably all the best pupils will go into Grammar Lower Schools, some outstanding technical pupils will go into Technical Lower Schools, and the remainder will find themselves in Modern Lower Schools. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. And will the modern school head teachers part joyfully with their best 'misfits' in exchange for rejects from the grammar lower schools? I doubt it. This transfer business has been recommended in pious hope before, but in practice it does not work. Like American Prohibition it is contrary to human cussedness.

If it has no other effect, this Norwood Report will have performed a valuable public service in exposing some unacknowledged difficulties inseparable from the combination of a break at 11+ with the separate organization of the three proposed types of secondary education. The more one considers, in detail, the psychological and practical difficulties inherent in these proposals, the more

one feels convinced that the Hadow Report has put school reorganization on a false track. 13+ rather than 11+ seems to emerge more and more clearly as the optimum age for transfer from primary to secondary education. Most unfortunately, I think, the Board of Education seems committed to the break at 11+ without adequate exploration of the other possible alternative, namely, building up a really good system of primary education to the age of 13+, and then transferring pupils, with much more likelihood of successful prognoses, to the type of secondary school most suitable for their special abilities and needs.

If the three types of curriculum were to be organized in departments of one big school, these transfer difficulties could be reduced to a minimum. The committee, however, are strongly opposed to the notion of 'multilateral' schools. At the most, and even this only grudgingly, they admit that it *might* be possible in some cases to combine a Modern with a Grammar school. And it is obvious that the committee have been thinking and planning in terms of populous urban districts. There is no indication of any adequate grasp of the rather appalling difficulties confronting rural education authorities.

The Committee realize clearly enough that the present school-leaving and Higher Certificate examinations have been changed from their original purpose as *qualifying* tests into *competitive selective* tests for university and state scholarships and for matriculation exemption. Examinations cannot be used for two incompatible purposes. Therefore the committee propose that:

(a) University entrance examinations shall continue as at present (but all being held in the same week in December).

(b) University Bodies shall hold annually in March tests of a scholarship type (*i.e.* no set books or detailed syllabuses) as a basis for awards of state scholarships and Local Authority exhibitions, the written tests being supplemented by interviews.

(c) University Bodies shall hold annually in March, and if necessary in July, *school leaving examinations of a purely qualifying type* to be taken normally at the age of 18+ to provide evidence of satisfactory completion of a higher secondary education and of fitness to proceed to university and professional studies.

(d) Specially appointed panels containing representatives of teachers, universities, L.E.A's and H.M.I's shall conduct school certificate examinations for pupils of 16+. After a specified time the responsibility for the conduct of this examination shall be given to the teachers themselves—an *internal*



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examination in other words. In this connection it must suffice to point out that the practice of interviewing (item (b) above) needs to be watched carefully. Interviews can be used to differentiate candidates on other than educational grounds.

Thirdly, the Report sets out the Committee's notion of the proper theory of a grammar school curriculum. It should embody the ideals of truth, beauty and goodness as ultimate values, final and binding for all times and in all places (or rather, the Christian interpretation of these values).

The lack of unity of the Grammar School curriculum is deplored, and it would appear that unity is to be regained through intellectual discipline—what a pupil learns is not so important as the way in which he learns it. We are offered, in fact, the theory of transfer of training, although the committee do not expressly acknowledge this.

It is possible, I think, to restate this old doctrine of learning in such a way as to bring it into line with recent experimental evidence and at the same time afford an indication of a unified treatment of the curriculum—namely, the explicit relation and application of all school studies to the practical realization of a civilization fit for everybody, and not merely a privileged few, to live in. There is a casual sort of reference on p. 127 to the importance of relating Art to the spiritual social and economic life of the present and the past, and to the possibility of unifying the teaching of Art in the appreciation of architecture, town-planning, and interior decoration and in the realization of its powerful influence for good or ill in modern

life. But why in Heaven's name only Art? Why not science, mathematics, history, geography, divinity and all the other subjects in the secondary school curriculum. Until the schools are related specifically to the spiritual, social and economic life of the present and the probable future we cannot, I believe, achieve the desired unity in the curriculum for a majority of the pupils. And we are most certainly not likely to achieve the good life in the form of a civilization fit for everybody to live in.

Generally, an important but disappointing document. Reveals a nostalgic yearning for the golden age of 'culture' in the past; and not much vision of a new golden age of civilization in the future.

A. Pinsent

**The School Base. J. Howard Whitehouse. 2nd. Edition. (Oxford University Press. 2/-).**

No one can doubt the enthusiasm which the Warden of Bembridge School has for educational reform, or do other than admire his consistent advocacy of the idea of the School Base during the past thirty-five years. We shall all agree with his statements as to the inadequacies of the existing system; and his general thesis, that towns should establish School Bases or cultural centres in adjacent country areas to meet a wide variety of educational needs, will command much sympathy and support. Certainly, in the replanning of housing and education after the war, the idea of a School Base may profitably be used to overcome some of the difficulties of finding suitable sites for educational purposes in congested towns.

Mr. Whitehouse, however, skims too easily over the many problems which would remain even if his ideas about the siting of school buildings were largely carried into effect. Is the solution to the scandalous conditions described in *Our Towns* really to be found in removing town children to a daily school environment out of touch with their normal conditions of family life? Can we, by this means, 'breed a new race with a new outlook', as one reviewer, whom he quotes, has suggested? Can we reconcile this idea with the modern notion of finding the raw material for educational experience in the life and environment surrounding the school? It is important for us to decide these major questions, for Mr. Whitehouse places removal from crowded conditions and slums as 'the great controlling reason for the School Base' (p. 17).

Many other questions are raised, but not answered, by a reading of this pamphlet. 'Daily life at the School Base will not end with the indoor school work', he says in the twenty lines devoted to Leisure Interests

(pp. 18-19), and states later that 'the plan of the School Base prevents the need of considering the school hours of the adolescent and his leisure hours as two different problems' (p. 20). H. M. Burton, in his excellent book *The Education of the Countryman* (*New Era* review, September-October, 1943) rather suggests that when the child is dependent upon mechanical transport for school attendance he is much more cut off from school in out-of-school hours. On the problems of rural reorganization Mr. Burton is a sounder guide than the present pamphlet, which devotes seventeen lines to 'The Village' and tends to dismiss rural education as not really providing a problem 'because the country is near' (p. 33). And can we really dispose of the problems associated with Dual Control (not mentioned) and religious teaching by saying 'I do not think it would be difficult to reach agreement between people of goodwill'? (p. 41). If all were as liberal minded as Mr. Whitehouse it might not be difficult, but unfortunately we are dealing with actual institutional vested interests, not with hypothetical men of goodwill. Are we then to have a School Base with separate schools under denominational control, and if so will 'a true unity in our system of education be achieved' (p. 24), and will it be possible to 'change schools with ease' (*ibid*) if one is an L.E.A. school, one C. of E. and one R.C.? Will even the common School Chapel, which is the special advantage 'above all' (p. 12) of the School Base, be possible?

One wonders, too, what teachers in Senior Schools will make of Section 19 on the 'Influence of the Classics'. 'It would be impossible under present conditions to have classical teaching either in the original languages or in translations at elementary schools, for this would require someone with special qualifications at each school', says Mr. Whitehouse (p. 31). One feels he has forgotten for a moment his East End experiences and confuses Bembridge and Bermondsey.

One serious error should be corrected. On page 24 'technical schools' are classed with senior and central schools as being administered under the existing elementary code. The questions raised in this review show the value of this pamphlet as a stimulus. Its central theme, the need for co-ordination and better conditions is sound, and the School Base idea has already been used with success in some of the newer housing schemes. But the final sociological solution for our present difficulties is not educational segregation but a bold replanning of our social, industrial and economic life so that the Good Life, so earnestly desired by Mr. Whitehouse, is possible without segregation.

David Jordan



# Directory of Schools

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster :* W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

A co-educational boarding school for boys and girls from 2-18 in the centre of a 2,000 acre estate engaged in the scientific development of rural industries. The school gives to Arts and Crafts, Dance, Drama and Music the special attention customary in progressive schools, and combines a modern outlook which is non-sectarian and international with a free and informal atmosphere. It aims to establish the high intellectual and academic standards of the best traditional schools, and the staff therefore includes a proportion of highly qualified scholars actively engaged in research as well as in teaching. With the help of an endowment fund it is planning and erecting up-to-date buildings and equipment.

Fees : £120-£160 per annum.

A limited number of scholarships are available, and further information about these may be obtained from the Headmaster.

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster :* W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

### TEACHER TRAINING DEPARTMENT

A department for the training of teachers for Nursery School, Kindergarten, and Junior School work, under the direction of Miss Margaret Isherwood, M.A. Camb., N.F.U., formerly lecturer at the Froebel Education Institute. Preparation for the Teachers' Certificate of the National Froebel Union. Special attention to the needs and interests of 'free lance' students, particularly to those coming from abroad or those requiring short courses of study not leading to an examination. Excellent opportunity for contact with children of all ages and classes. Facilities of the Dartington Hall Estate available for students wishing to get some acquaintance with rural life and industries.

*Further information on application.*

## BADMINTON SCHOOL (BRISTOL)

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Junior School 5 to 11 years  
Senior School 12 to 19 years

The School is situated in beautiful and peaceful surroundings where the girls are able to enjoy an open-air life. A high standard of scholarship is maintained and at the same time an interest in creative work is developed by the practical and theoretical study of Art and Music. There are weekly discussions on World Affairs and more intensive work on Social and International problems is done by means of voluntary Study Circles.

**Apply to The Secretary.**

## FRENSHAM HEIGHTS FARNHAM . . . . . SURREY

*Headmaster :* PAUL ROBERTS, M.A.

Frensham Heights is a co-educational school containing at present 105 boarders and 45 day pupils equally divided as to sex and equally distributed in age from 6 to 18.

The school stands in a high position in 170 acres of ground and is exceptionally fortunate in its accommodation and equipment.

Fees : 144 guineas per annum inclusive

Four scholarships are offered annually

*For particulars apply Headmaster*

## MONKTON WYLD SCHOOL, nr. CHARMOUTH, DORSET

*Principals :* ELEANOR URBAN, M.A., HUMPHREY SWINGLER, M.A.

Boys and Girls from 5 to 18 years.

Secluded position on Devon-Dorset border.

Produce from School Farm.



# Directory of Schools—continued

## MALTMAN'S GREEN GERRARDS CROSS. BUCKS

*Boarding School for Girls from  
nine to nineteen years of age*

*Headmistress : MISS CHAMBERS*

## BEDALES SCHOOL

PETERSFIELD HANTS (Founded 1893)

A Co-educational Boarding School for boys and girls from 11-19. Separate Junior School for those from 5-11. Inspected by the Board of Education. Country estate of 150 acres. Home Farm. Education is on modern lines and aims at securing the fullest individual development in, and through, the community. Scholarships offered, including some for Arts and Music.

*Headmaster : F. A. MEIER, M.A.(Camb.)*

## THE GARDEN SCHOOL

Wycombe Court, Lane End

Nr. High Wycombe

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FEES : 105 to 150 guineas per annum.

*Principal : Mrs. M. A. ORMROD, B.A.*

## LEIGHTON PARK SCHOOL

READING

**Six Open Scholarships** value £30-£100, and additional Exhibitions of £50-£40, for general ability, Music and Art, will be awarded in March.

Basic fees 150 gns. per annum, inclusive.

*For particulars apply to the Headmaster,  
E. B. CASTLE, M.A. (Oxon.)*

## PACCOMBE SCHOOL

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Now at :

ELMTREES GREAT MISSENDEN BUCKS

Own productive fruit and vegetable gardens. The house has a south aspect and is completely modernised and fully equipped as a Home and School for children 2-12 years.

A happy community of adults, children and animals living together in an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual trust and respect ; essential conditions for Growth. Fees £90 per annum. Entire Charge £120 per annum.

*Principal - Miss M. K. Wilson  
Tel. 407.*

Schools for boys and girls  
from 3½ to 14 years

**LITTLE FELCOURT**

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**FELCOURT SCHOOLS,**

**EAST GRINSTEAD, SUSSEX,**

are founded on the Montessori idea and aim to create the happy free atmosphere of a real home.

*Particulars from the Principal*

## ST. CHRISTOPHER SCHOOL

LETCHWORTH

Is an educational community of some 300 boys, girls and adults. The five school houses provide living and teaching accommodation for children of all ages. On the edge of the Garden City, amidst rural surroundings and beautiful gardens, they pursue their studies and cultivate courage, gaiety and a quiet mind.

## Wychwood School, Oxford

RECOGNIZED BY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Maximum of 80 girls (half day pupils) aged 10-18. Small classes, large graduate staff. Education in widest sense under unusually happy and free conditions. Exceptional health record. Elder girls when not entering universities can either specialize in Drawing, Design, Languages, Music, Handcraft, or take year's training at Wychlea (Domestic Science House). Playing fields, bathing pool.

*Principal : Miss MARGARET LEE, M.A. (Oxon.)  
Late University Tutor in English.  
Vice Principal : Miss E. M. SNODGRASS, B.A. (Oxon.)*

## OAKLEA

BUCKHURST HILL, ESSEX.

*Recognized by Board of Education.*

Removed for duration of war to

**NESS STRANGE, near SHREWSBURY.**

90 Boarders taken in pleasant country house in exceptionally safe area. Beautiful countryside.

*Principal : BEATRICE GARDNER.*

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WEDDERBURN ROAD, HAMPSTEAD,

now at

**YARKHILL COURT, nr. HEREFORD**

(Tel. : Tarrington 233).

Boys and Girls, 4-16. Emphasis on languages.  
Modern dietary.

*Mrs. E. PAUL, Ph.D.*



# Directory of Schools—continued

## WENNINGTON HALL via LANCASTER

A hard-working, cheerful school community in which staff and children make an honest bid for equality, seeking together to achieve freedom of mind and spirit upon the basis of a disciplined self.

Co-educational, 7-17. Experienced graduate teachers. Magnificent hill and river country, good health, excellent cooking. Fees : £99-£110, with reductions in necessitous cases.

Headmaster : KENNETH C. BARNES, B.Sc.

## KIDSTONES SCHOOL BISHOPDALE, LEYBURN, YORKS.

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Modern building equipped for children in beautiful and healthy surroundings. The school aims at a high standard of scholarship in addition to health and happiness.

It wishes to attain a constructively progressive outlook without reaction, and believes that this can be done where tolerance is based upon sound knowledge and understanding.

*Full particulars from the Principal :*  
JANET JEWSON, M.A., N.F.U.

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MAY 23rd, 24th AND 25th, 1944.

SEVEN SCHOLARSHIPS, £80 to £30, including a MUSIC SCHOLARSHIP of £40; and to boys of good character and all-round ability, THREE BURSARIES, £60 to £20, will be awarded on the results of an examination to be held on May 23rd, 24th and 25th, 1944.

*Further particulars can be obtained from the Headmaster's Secretary.*

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# THE NEW ERA IN HOME AND SCHOOL

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## EDUCATION IN POLAND, FRANCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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## National Integration and Education<sup>1</sup>

J. A. Lauwerys

Deputy Chairman of the (International) N.E.F.

THE central integrating factor in the U.S.S.R. appears to arise from the response of the people to an economic challenge, accepted by all, namely, to advance their material welfare through the newly-gained powers of science and industrial technique. This aim required a high degree of economic equality, including the public ownership of the means of production, and is therefore a socialist solution. Soviet education is equalitarian and aims at producing good socialist citizens possessing the knowledge needed to increase the general wealth, and the will to co-operate with others.

The educational system of the U.S.A. was also formed when the people were responding to an overwhelming and universally accepted material and economic drive: the challenge of the Frontier. We found American education more highly integrated than ours in some ways—for example, there is a *common* school instead of a tripartite system which serves to keep the classes separate, and through their curriculum they do more than we to help their pupils to cope with the mechanical equipment of a scientific world. Education in the U.S.A. is influenced by three factors: an industrial outlook which sets high store by efficiency and utilizable knowledge; a rather old-fashioned

capitalistic ideology which in spite of changed conditions continues to ascribe success and progress to individual effort and personal qualities; and the deliberate desire to turn a diversity of heterogeneous racial and national groups into a homogeneous and united nation.

In both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. the State places much reliance on educational means for achieving an integrated society. Norway, however, is an example of a community which is itself highly integrated and where therefore the school is freed from having to concentrate effort upon this particular task.

The chief lesson we learned from China, a country as class-divided, as respectful of tradition, as deeply steeped in national feeling as England (which is the most Chinese of the occidental countries) was that we cannot cut adrift from our past any more than we can escape the challenge of the present. We must start reforming from where we are; a synthesis of the new and the old is the only way out. In the words of Confucius, 'The man who re-animates the old and so gets to understand the new is fit to be a teacher'.

If we are to be effective as reformers we have first to become clear and conscious about our aims, and about the values by which we

measure our efforts. What we democrats are aiming at is a sort of orchestration of group interests into a social symphony to which each group may contribute as it is best able, and we may well think of education as part of that social process through which orchestration is to be achieved. If this be so we may and should ask whenever we study an educational system, whether it helps towards this integration or whether it helps to deepen and accentuate existing cleavages. At the same time we should ask whether by its rigidity it may not be forcing into unhappy silence groups which by their activity could enrich the community.

OUR admiration for the three countries which we have decided to study on this occasion, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, and the obligations we owe them, would in themselves be sufficient motive for study; but there are intellectual reasons, besides these compelling ones of sentiment.

Czechoslovakia, on a small scale, was achieving what we in our Empire and Commonwealth will have to undertake, the integration of people of different nationalities and of vastly different levels of industrialization and prosperity. Poland, too, was faced with problems of unification and reintegration

<sup>1</sup> This is a very much shortened summary of J. A. Lauwerys' opening address at the conference held in London, Christmas, 1943, by the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education, the New Education Fellowship (International Headquarters and English Section), the National Froebel Foundation, and the Nursery School Association. All the articles in this issue up to and including Professor Hermann's are taken from papers read at this conference, which met to discuss education in Poland, France, and Czechoslovakia.



similar to those which will face Europe as a whole after the war.

To France we are bound as closely as one nation can be to another. There is much similarity between her problems and ours, so that we can learn more easily, perhaps, from her failures and successes than from those of any other land. Is there a people more civilized, who better understands the art of life? And more, has not France been the heart and brain of Western Civilization for a thousand years? The Athens of the West, an education to Europe. If European peace is to be maintained in the life-time of our children, and if Europe is to make to the world of to-morrow the cultural contributions which she still has it in her to make, there must come some such federation of this country with France as Mr. Churchill offered in June 1940.

FINALLY, one further and highly important task for studies in comparative education such as ours: to help to form in this country a public opinion, informed, resolute, and enlightened, which will help to sustain and direct the activities, not only of whatever form of International Education Office is set up

after the war, but also those of the voluntary bodies which are an essential aid to such an office. Without support of this kind the League of Nations failed, though that is not to decry the value of the work which it did, nor that of the International Education Agencies, which functioned during the inter-war period, such as the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation or the Bureau International d'Education, which continues to work in Geneva.

The germ of the greater office exists, indeed it is already a vigorous young plant; it is now being carefully watched and nursed by governments, and is receiving a measure of support never fully accorded to the earlier attempts.

Much of the preparatory work is being done on the other side of the Atlantic. In connection with this, I recommend to your attention a book by Kotschnig recently published by the Oxford Press, *Slaves Need No Leaders*, in which you will find not only a brilliant analysis of the educational aspects of the world conflict and revolution, but also a full description of what is needed in the way of educational reconstruction in Europe, and some account of what is thought in

America about the setting up of an International Education Authority.

Preparatory and theoretical work has been done, which will be of immense value, and now the first practical steps have been taken over here. About fifteen months ago the President of the Board, Mr. R. A. Butler, called together most of the Allied Ministers of Education in London to initiate a discussion of problems of educational reconstruction. Since its first meeting, much has been accomplished.

At first, of course, this Education Authority must function as a United Nations one. Nothing else is possible. Nevertheless, those who support it realize full well that, at some stage, it will have to become a truly international body, on which all the nations of the earth will be represented. Care, I am sure, will be taken not to saddle it or any of its organs of action with any tasks of a retributive or discriminatory character.

All educational institutions have been the special target of the Nazi malice. To restore them to vigorous functioning will take unremitting and prodigious effort—the mere task of furnishing the material necessities is a vast one.

By H. C. DENT

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# The Social Background of Education in Poland Through the Centuries

Professor Stanislaw Kot

Minister of State, Poland

EDUCATION in Poland during the Middle Ages, at the time of the Renaissance and down to the eighteenth century, was similar in character to that of all the nations of the European continent. In the Middle Ages it mainly served ecclesiastical purposes, all education being organized by the Church. The original type of education was that of the cathedral schools, but with the passing of time parish schools developed in the towns, though these schools only met the needs of the urban inhabitants to a small extent. Monasterial schools did not play any great part in Poland, for the Orders which had settled in the country held aloof from the larger centres of habitation and dedicated themselves either to devotional pursuits or to husbandry, while the preaching Orders were concerned only with providing schools for their novitiates. By the fifteenth century the university which had been founded in Cracow in 1364 held a high place in the realm of the sciences, especially in mathematics and astronomy. Certain of its students, chief among them Copernicus, gained world repute. By the end of the fifteenth century every parish had its school, but these schools were adapted chiefly for educating the lower ranks of the clergy and the minor officials in church services. The nobility and gentry did not go to them nor did they devote themselves to book studies, but developed the education of their children in accordance with their own conceptions and requirements within the bounds of their class; they could fight and govern without scholastic education and without knowing Latin, and if Latin were required the clergy could meet the need. Although the Piast dynasty, the founders of the Polish State, fostered a high degree of intellectual culture among its members, basing on the Church and the clergy, the joint Polish-Lithuanian dynasty of Jagiellon which followed did not show any great eagerness for studies, though the united State was well governed.

## From the Reformation of the Partitions

Only with the flourishing of humanism in Poland did the temporal estates also begin to be drawn towards schools, studies, and books. This coincided with the rise of the gentry to the chief place in Poland's internal life. In order to curb the omnipotence of the spiritual estate, the nobility and gentry were anxious to take possession of the weapon which had assured the clergy a dominant influence in the State, namely, education. Thenceforth the universities of Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, and in time those also of Belgium and Holland, were crowded with students from the Polish gentry, athirst for knowledge. For their own universities, being excessively dominated by the clergy, were too narrow in scope. At this period, owing to the fact that the countries to the north and east of Poland had been brought within the orbit of Latin and Polish culture, new universities, in addition to that at Cracow, had been founded at Vilno and Zamosc. Fundamentally the gentry's needs were for a general and linguistic education, and these were assured them mainly by the higher, collegiate type of school, which the Jesuit Order began to found in large numbers with the object of saving the youth from developing sympathies for the Reformation. For the young gentlemen studying in foreign universities were spreading the teachings of the Reformation widely over Poland, from the Vistula to the Dvina and the Dnieper. The Jesuit schools, like their rivals the Piarist schools, had no intention of giving a thorough and profound education, and contented themselves with religious education plus a certain amount of humanistic, linguistic and rhetorical veneer. These schools turned out generations of gentry who distinguished themselves by their exuberant oratory in the national House of Commons ('Sejm' in Polish) and district 'sejmiks', and made use of the history of Greece and Rome in the

administration of State affairs. In their dislike of the royal authority they took comfort in republican phraseology drawn from Cicero and Livy, but justified the oppressed condition of the peasantry and the restriction of citizenship rights by the example of antiquity.

The Reformation, which in its first great impetus had an ally in the nobility and gentry's dislike of the political and economic supremacy of the clergy, affected the cultural leaders of Poland and her Eastern lands as far as the Dnieper. The wave of Protestantism did not last long, and by the next generation the majority of the advocates of reform had gone over to Rome; but the movement had a very fertilizing effect in the field of education and schools. It aroused the backward Orthodox clergy and encouraged them to take up studies and lectures, the highest expression of this effort being the Theological Academy founded by Piotr Mohila, the Orthodox Metropolitan in Kiev, who, to raise the standards of the clergy, introduced western studies in Polish and Latin, and, noteworthy fact, despite the opposition of the Jesuits. Among the Catholic clergy the danger of the Reformation evoked a more fervent devotion to the work not only of providing schools for the nobility, but also of parish schools for the common people. In the middle of the seventeenth century all the rural parishes of the extensive territories of the Commonwealth possessed schools. First and foremost these too served the needs of the Church in their curricula and the direction of their education, but they also took into account the practical needs of the people. Schools of Protestant denominations also acquired fame; the Lutheran schools in Pomorze, the Calvinistic schools in South-Eastern Poland and Lithuania, the Polish Brethren, otherwise the Socinian Academy in Cracow, the Bohemian Brethren's school in Leszno-Lissa developed by a refugee from Moravia, Johann Amos Comenius, who spent some ten years in Poland, writing his chief works there.



The eighteenth century brought Poland only fifteen years of freedom from war, as compared with Britain's seventy-five, and its latter half saw the ruin of all Poland's cultural life: it was destroyed by what is known in Polish history as 'The Flood', *i.e.* the invasions of Poland by Swedes, Russians, Turks and Tartars, the Transylvanians and the Prussians. By a tremendous effort the nation regained its independence, but it did not recover its prosperity. The consequence of the ruin and misery was a cultural decline which in turn entailed the decline of political thinking and the degeneration of the State system. In order to rescue the nation from this decline, in order above all to bring political enlightenment to the ruling estate, namely, the nobility, and to uplift the country economically, one of the greatest characters of eighteenth century Poland, the Piarist Stanislaw Konarski, threw himself ardently into the task of educational reform. An advocate of the intellectual innovations of the eighteenth century in philosophy and the exact sciences, and of Locke's educational theory, he overcame incredible difficulties and reformed the schools of his own Order, with the result that they turned out students with enlightened minds, progressive views and healthy characters. The youth which they educated in the course of time provided the leaders of the 'Four-Year-Sejm', which tried to save Poland from disaster by adopting the famous Constitution of 3rd May. Konarski taught Poles to appreciate the necessity of schools in an enlightened State. Following in his steps the last king of Poland, Stanislaw Poniatowski, founded a school for nobility, in order to provide the army with officers educated in the modern spirit, and made indefatigable efforts to raise the standard of literature and science in his country.

After the Pope's suspension of the Jesuit Order in Poland, the Polish Government developed Konarski's initiative on a wide scale; the great material resources taken over from the Order were used for the foundation of a National Board of Education, which organized a complete system of schools. The Board functioned for twenty years, from 1773 to 1793, and it had all the attributes of a Ministry for Education, being the first institution of its

kind in Europe. It was able to come into being in Poland rather than elsewhere because of the rivalry between Sejm and king—between nobility and clergy. Its results were enormous, and they changed the spiritual features of the nation. It fundamentally reorganized intermediate education. It adapted buildings and auxiliary aids, libraries, curricula and primers to the spirit of contemporary pedagogy. It came up against certain difficulties: the teachers, former priests, decried mathematics as 'pure mechanism and charlatanism based on vanity, which is only pleasing to half-baked sages'; the provincial gentry saw no sense in the teaching of zoology, because 'the lads know the animals well enough from everyday life'. The Board broke down all opposition by training a new generation of teachers, after reforming the universities at Cracow and Vilno. The Board was unable to develop elementary schooling as it desired, but it worked energetically in this direction also, founding schools and issuing primers for the people.

The Board's schools developed a type of secular student, and in general put secular schooling on a permanent basis by the secularization of education, *i.e.* by freeing it from dependence on the monopoly of the Order schools.

### Russian, Prussian and Austrian Domination

However, for a long period of time efforts of this kind were bound to remain fruitless. The partitioners of Poland desired to enfeeble the vitality of the enslaved nation by thrusting it down to a lower cultural level. The one exception was Prussia, which extended education and schools, but only to use them as an instrument of Germanization and for suppressing both the Polish language and the Polish spirit. Feudal Austria deliberately increased the state of ignorance in the Polish areas she acquired. For the time being Tsarist Russia could not pursue a policy of Russification, as at the moment she did not possess the requisite cultural resources. For the number of schools and pupils in the Polish areas which Russia annexed greatly exceeded the corresponding figures in Russia itself. During the liberal government of Alexander I the university at

Vilno and the intermediate and primary schools which it carried on over a broad extent of territory as far as Vitebsk, Polotsk and Kiev were able to experience a period of great development and to be the very centre of Polish culture, learning and literature at a time when everywhere else they were being crushed.

It is worth recalling the democratic movement of the Vilno University students to spread education among the peasants. In view of the lack of both teachers and primers the secret students' unions recommended their members to acquaint themselves with the method of reciprocal instruction worked out by Bell and Lancaster, and to utilize this method for the purpose of spreading education among the White Ruthenian and Lithuanian peasants. This form of activity developed about the years 1815 to 1825.

The fifteen years during which the Polish Congress Kingdom, *i.e.* the unsuccessful attempt of the 1815 Congress of Vienna to create a Polish kingdom governed by Poles under the sceptre of Russian tsardom, was a period during which education flourished amazingly in this small area. The Poles of the time saw a way to political independence through the development of education. A university was founded in Warsaw, though it was concerned more with the need of training officials, jurists and teachers than with scientific research. A widely ramified secondary and elementary school system was created. Parallel with the progress of economic life, a mining school, a school of forestry and agriculture and a polytechnic came into being. A Jewish Academy was also founded for rabbis, and it trained many enlightened Jews, but not one rabbi, since the reactionary orthodox Jewry refused to recognize rabbis educated in a secular institution. The failure of the 1831 revolution led to the ruin of all Polish schooling under the sceptre of the Russian tsars. Thenceforth the Russians systematically set to work to lower the standards of education and to force the Russification of the Polish lands; Russian schools were opened in the place of Polish ones. So with but short breaks, down to the first world war, the Poles under Russian government were thrown back to a very low



cultural level; and as late as 1915 the Russian Government refused to permit the transformation of the Warsaw Russian University into a Polish University. Consequently the Polish students had to seek their education in the schools of various foreign countries. Joseph Conrad is a famous example from the Polish youths who were unwilling to study in the Russian schools.

The economic life of Poland suffered greatly from the fact that the various partitioning governments made it impossible for Polish schools, including technical schools, necessary for the training of master craftsmen and engineers, to be set up. They refused to found such schools themselves, and they frustrated all Polish attempts in this direction; so the industry of Congress Poland, which was developing rapidly, had to rely on specialists who had obtained education in foreign lands.

After a few years of liberalism, in the time of the so-called 'Spring of the Peoples' in the forties, the Russian government forbade the use of Polish in education, and, after the victory over France in 1871, it forced Polish children to study in German schools which were inspired by hatred for everything Polish. These extraordinary conditions continued down to the end of the first world war in all the areas annexed by Russia and Prussia, provoking phenomena unknown to western peoples. For instance, there were school strikes, all the children and youths refusing to take any part in studies over a long period. There was also a great development of secret instruction, Polish children being taught by their Polish parents or by special teachers, who were unable to be tracked down by the police and severely punished. The number of people punished for secret instruction, the number of imprisonments, of exiles to Siberia, the monstrous fines imposed in Russia, as well as the imprisonment and economic or financial oppression of the interested families, go far beyond anything comprehensible to foreigners. I recall a course of instruction in the Polish language, secret, of course, which I myself conducted in Poznan in 1912. It was given in quite a large hall, in order to find room for several hundred grown-up people, parents, fathers and mothers, as well as lawyers, doctors, engineers, priests,

who were themselves engaged in conducting secret groups of Polish children learning their own forbidden language, and who consequently required methodical preparation, for there were no cadres of teachers as such whatever. In order to hoodwink the police it was given out that some kind of religious conference was being held in the hall, and the door was propped up by a tall, broad-shouldered priest, so that the police patrol could not see across his shoulder and discover the rather secular activities which were going on. The lecturer was provided with an enormous pulpit taken from a church as his platform.

A notable feature of the education of Polish youth during the years of the Partitions was the suspicion with which the annexationist authorities and teachers regarded everything that was young. This dislike and even hatred made it difficult for the youth to find work, souring all their lives and turning them bitter, simply because the partitioning authorities were continually suspicious that these youngsters were inwardly moved by Polish feelings, and were therefore ineducable as Russians, or Prussians or Austrians. The police supervision of the youth was painful in its effects; searches, investigations, arrests, trials and sentences were continually taking place. In those areas where it was a crime to read a Polish book or to take part in collective study of the national history, geography or language, there were, of course, endless punishments. The influence of the home and the general atmosphere of Polish society had to be very strong to keep the youngsters in moral health and mental stability. The continual vexations and torments produced a state of nerves, illness and even a disposition to suicide.

The only area in which there was some improvement in the second half of the nineteenth century was Galicia, in the Austrian Partition. Owing to the granting of a comparatively liberal constitution and in order to win over the Polish group in the Viennese Parliament, the Emperor Francis Joseph granted a certain degree of educational autonomy to the Polish people; in all the schools education was given in Polish, though the curricula imposed were in the Austrian spirit. The elementary,

technical and secondary schools were subjected to a regional educational council, consisting of representatives of the local population, but fairly tightly controlled from Vienna. The universities were directly subordinated to the Ministry for Education in Vienna, but, as the result of Polish political influence, it became possible to secure the removal of the German professors and have Poles take their place. Both the universities, at Cracow and at Lwow, reached a very high standard and were the only centres of higher learning for Poles. Entire generations of young savants were there educated who later, in restored Poland, were able to take charge of the dozen or more university schools which were then organized.

Despite over a hundred years of severance among three annexationist powers, each pursuing a denationalization policy, the Polish nation entered the period of the first world war united spiritually and culturally. This phenomenon of the existence of the national bond, despite the absence of the national State, which still puzzles sociologists to-day, can only be explained by the existence of an unbroken and conscious political and national tradition. The persecutions of the partitioning powers only cemented the nation together, and the sense of a common national culture penetrated from the class of nobility and gentry down to the great masses. National literature and poetry had its hearth mainly in the district of Vilno, whence came our greatest poets, Mickiewicz and Slowacki, who also played a great part in this process of kindling the national sentiment.

The first great war devastated Poland from end to end; the war fronts passed backward and forward over the country several times, and while the West set about the work of reconstruction in 1918, the wars around the Polish borders came to an end only in 1920.

The young nation, exhausted by 150 years of enslavement, devastated by war, was compelled to rebuild all its life, including education, from the foundations. Only then could Poland fully set to work on the normal organization of education for its youth. The twenty years of Poland's independent existence were largely devoted to efforts in this direction,



and after the army, education accounted for the highest item of the budget. At last the nation could plan the education of the young generation according to all the requirements of the nation's future.

Looking back over those twenty years of Polish labour we can see many defects, yet surely hardly another nation achieved so much in so short a time, having such limited economic resources at its disposal. Here I can bring out only a few of the most important features of this period.

In 1920 over 40 per cent. of the population in the area formerly under Austria was illiterate; in the area formerly under Russia the figure reached 80 per cent. By 1939 these figures had been reduced to 20 per cent. Compulsory education was introduced for all between the age of seven and thirteen, and in the towns 100 per cent. of the children were so provided for, while in the rural areas the figure in 1938 was 87 per cent. This effort can be rightly appreciated only when it is remembered that Poland was a poor, agricultural country, without any powerful industry. The building of schools and the training of teachers could not keep pace with the enormous increase in children which was our greatest treasure. In 1937 five million children were studying in 30,000 schools and kindergartens; only some 600,000 children still had to be left outside the educational system. In order to carry out in its entirety the law on compulsory education and complementary education we still needed 40,000 school rooms and 100,000 teachers. How vigorous were the dynamics of population in Poland can be judged from the following comparison: in 1937 the age categories fifteen to twenty-four in Poland accounted for 33 per cent. of the population, while in Germany 24.2 per cent., and in England 23.8 per cent.

Every year 700,000 more eighteen-year-olds entered the labour market, 68 per cent. of the figure being from rural areas; and we knew in advance that 300,000 of the total were condemned to unemployment, because the labour market could not absorb them.

Despite the difficult economic conditions Poland assured almost all her children a basic elementary education, and the primary school

was the most eloquent manifestation of the democratization of life in the country.

Another phenomenon worth noting in Poland before the war was the tremendous development of adult education. This was due chiefly to the services of social organizations and to the enormous urge towards education found among the great mass of the people. Courses, people's theatres, libraries, choirs, and so on sprang up in thousands. The drive towards self-education and to completion of education is illustrated by the rise in standards among the teaching profession. In 1920 anyone to hand was accepted as a teacher; for quite a number of years after, secondary education was sufficient qualification for a teacher; of recent years in the teachers' training schools a two-year pedagogical course at a lycée and a one-year higher teacher's course were compulsory.

Perhaps the equality of national minorities was most fully attempted in the sphere of education. Article 110 of the Polish Constitution guaranteed: 'Polish citizens belonging to national minorities or linguistic minorities have, together with other citizens, the right to establish, supervise, and manage at their own cost, charitable, religious and social establishments, as well as schools and other educational establishments, and to use in them their own language with complete freedom and to carry out the rules of their own religion'. In fulfilment of this law the national minorities possessed schools entirely financed by the Polish State, in which the minority language was the language of instruction, or in which both Polish and the minority language were employed. Also minorities could found private schools without hindrance. In the year 1937-38 some 20 per cent. (5,327 schools) of Poland's primary schools used Ukrainian, German, Yiddish, Hebrew, and other small national group languages, while the corresponding figure for the secondary schools was some 15 per cent.

In the sphere of science and learning and higher education there was enormous progress during Poland's twenty years of independence. Before 1914 only Galicia possessed a Polish higher school system, whereas in unified Poland in 1939 there were 28 universities

and higher educational institutions with 48,000 students; but figures alone give only a poor picture of the quality and the dimensions of the work done.

Historians of education have always observed a definite dependence of educational standards on economic prosperity. During her 1,000 years of history, Poland has had rare periods of peace and prosperity. One such period was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in those days arts and sciences flourished in Poland and radiated out to the neighbouring countries, linking them up in a great federation, not by force of arms, but by the attraction of culture and political liberties. But Poland's geographical position as an open plain situated at the spot where influences from the West intersected with those of the East constituted an open invitation to invasion from both sides. War swept over the Polish lands almost every twenty-five years. Almost every generation lost its personal heritage; churches were burnt down, schools, museums, and places of work were ravaged. In other countries prosperity accumulated with the centuries, but in Poland war destroyed that which each new generation had rebuilt.

And so, looking at Poland's difficulties, it is necessary to remember that she was a poor country, and that she will come out of this war with the greatest losses of all, and more devastated even than Russia, because Russia has enormous expanses and riches untouched by the war. I don't want now to cite the terrible details of the ravages which the German nation, so proud of its civilization, has committed in the field of Polish education. It will be long before that nation will have washed away the infamy of its murder of men of science and culture, and many a brutality will remain a stain on German history for ever.

Here I can specify only the most important losses we have suffered, apart from obvious material destruction:

#### *Losses in Personnel*

The murder and extermination of teachers.

The enfeeblement of the physical and spiritual powers of resistance of the young people by starvation, bad conditions of existence, forced labour and terror.

The removal from their positions



as teachers of all the remaining teachers in secondary and higher, and to some extent in elementary schools, and their condemnation to indigence.

#### *Intellectual Losses*

The suspension of all scientific and educational work for at least five years. The loss of five years of study for advanced students by the closing down of secondary and higher schools.

The catastrophic decline in elementary school standards.

## The Historical and Social Background of French Public Education

Professor Léon Hermann

University of Rennes

FOR the period which began roughly with Caesar's conquest of Gaul and ended at the French Revolution, the Catholic Church, by means of the various regular Orders, controlled all education in France; the schools were annexes of the churches and convents. It cannot be said that this education was entirely bad, but it was the privilege of a few; it was purely humanistic and not scientific, and allowed no freedom of thought, its aim being the formation of perfect subjects who should be loyal to the king, but above all obedient sons of the Catholic Church. Aristocratic and theocratic, French public education at the end of the eighteenth century still reflected the social and political situation of the kingdom.

We can say that, from the year 1789 till now, the history of our public educational system has been the history of the struggle of the scientific and modern mind against conformity and obedient credulity, of democracy against blind tyrannical authority. This struggle is still going on: the so-called 'National Revolution' of Marshal Pétain has won a temporary victory over democracy and has tried to return to the 'good' old times of absolute kings and the rule of the Catholic Church. But as Victor Hugo said, 'To-morrow belongs to nobody; to-morrow belongs to God'.

What did the real French Revolution do for our public education? For the first-degree schools very little, as the monks and priests either fled or were arrested; but new second-degree schools, called central schools, were opened in each department to replace the ecclesias-

#### *In the Moral Sphere*

Demoralization deliberately encouraged (through films, theatres and publications), and also as the result of bad conditions of existence (the sale of vodka, black market trade).

The treading underfoot of all humanitarian principles will leave traces in the character of the youth for several generations, and laborious educational work will be required in order to obliterate these traces.

A problem of far-reaching importance in post-war Poland will be

tical colleges. New high schools were founded by the Convention; for example, the Polytechnic School, a school for military and civilian engineers, and the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* for teachers of the second-degree schools. Nothing, however, was done for the universities, which were so prosperous during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and although the principle of freedom, equality, and fraternity had been proclaimed, the practically continuous foreign and civil wars forbade the spreading of knowledge and the improvement of education.

Then came Napoleon I. If, in a sense, this dictator was 'the Revolution in military boots', he was also the heir of the kings who had made France, and even of Charles the Great, Emperor of the West. It is well known that he made a treaty with the Pope, the Concordat, which ended only with the severance of Church and State. The Church thus recovered its control of education, but the 'tyran' considered the Church itself as an instrument in his powerful hands to make obedient tools of his will, faithful subjects, priests, officers and civil servants. He organized what he called the French university as an army. The Commander-in-Chief was the Grand Master; his staff was the university council. France was divided into territorial districts called Academies, directed by Rectors and academic councils. Under the Rectors were Academy Inspectors supervising the schools in each department. This organization is still working, and I do not think that it will be abolished by the Vichy régime. For the first-

not an improvement over the state of affairs as it existed in 1939, not a raising of the elementary school leaving age to fourteen or fifteen, but a general restoration of the situation as it obtained before 1st September, 1939. That task alone will take several years to achieve.

Only on the two foundations, world peace and the help of the Western democracies in the task of reconstruction can education in Poland arise again from the ruins and ashes.

degree schools nothing was done: a soldier did not need to spell or write. Many more second-degree schools were created for the education of future officers; in each department at least one lycée was founded, and in many towns colleges. Every boarder had a black uniform with gold buttons, slept in a dormitory, marched in rank and file, was awakened by the drum, and when punished was sent to the college prison. All this happens to-day in the lycées and colleges for boys—except the prison, which was suppressed seventy years ago. In the new lycées and colleges for girls the drum has, of course, been replaced by the bell. You see that one of the tasks of the future will be to abolish some of these relics of the military system. All these secondary schools were open only to the upper classes, and the curriculum was mainly literary and classical. Centralization was carried to such an extent that the first Grand Master of the University, De Fontanes, a poet who was the friend of Châteaubriand, took his watch from his pocket one day and said, 'At this moment all over the empire all the pupils of the first form are translating French into Latin'.

Higher studies were neglected, for Napoleon was afraid of thinkers and wanted only lawyers, priests, doctors, officers and civil servants. In each Academy faculties of science, law, medicine, theology and letters were created, but they were severely supervised by the State.

After the fall of Napoleon, the royal government surrendered the university to the Church. In 1822



a priest, Mgr. Frayssinous, was Grand Master; the bishops were granted the right of supervising the elementary schools; all the liberal professors of the faculties were ousted; the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* was closed for a while; and Guizot, professor of history at the Sorbonne, was suspended. Under Louis-Philippe the monarchy became a constitutional one and Guizot became a member of the Cabinet. He improved the faculties, increased the number of elementary schools, and gave the teachers a small salary. But at the end of the reign the Catholic attacks on public education became much more violent and the upper classes, fearing socialism, united with the Church, and, after the fall of the monarchy, under the Second Republic, the Catholic party obtained its second victory. The so-called Falloux law withdrew the State monopoly of education and established the freedom of the first- and second-degree schools. But this freedom was only a screen, and in truth all education was controlled by the Catholic Church. The man who backed the Falloux law was Thiers, who feared socialism. He thought the Church should have control of the schools because the Church taught the right philosophy: 'Man is on this earth to suffer'.

During the reign of Napoleon the Third, French public instruction remained under the control of the Church. The Emperor, like Marshal Pétain, made all professors and teachers swear personal fidelity to him. Many, including Taine and Michelet, refused and were dismissed. The prefects were given the right to appoint or dismiss teachers in elementary schools. A liberal minister, however, the great historian, Victor Duruy, carried through some useful reforms: he created elementary schools for girls and the so-called 'modern' side, which omitted Latin and Greek, in the secondary schools, and developed the teaching of science.

After the fall of Napoleon III, however, during the conservative period of the Third Republic, the National Assembly granted to the Church control of higher education, and 'free' universities (which means, of course, Catholic universities) were established and still exist in Paris (Catholic Institute), Lyons, Lille, Angiers, and Toulouse. They could not give diplomas, like the

State universities, but mixed examination boards of State and Church professors were formed for the Catholic university students. But this was the last victory of the Church before June 1940. She tried, with the monarchists, to destroy the Republic, and the republicans won. The result of their victory was that they established in public education as much freedom as they could without destroying entirely the structure of the Napoleonic university.

This reform was the work of a great man, Jules Ferry, who founded the republican system of public education between 1879 and 1882. These were his basic principles: freedom of instruction and education, but no control by the Catholic Church over State schools; no member of the clergy on university councils or examination boards; no supervision of the teaching of religion or religious history in elementary schools; while the only qualification for an elementary school teacher should be that he had passed his examinations, not that he had been appointed by his bishop. Jules Ferry created a secular school in each village, non-fee-paying and compulsory, where no religious teaching might be given. He created higher primary schools which became the nucleus of the technical schools where the sons of workmen and peasants could continue their studies even after they were thirteen. For each department he made a Normal school for training men and women teachers; and lastly, he created secondary schools, lycées and colleges for girls. All these laws were criticized by the Catholics, who waged war, 'for the souls of the children', against the 'godless' schools. But the schools were successful, and the country as a whole accepted them since everybody was free to send his children to the Catholic schools, colleges, or universities.

But political struggles again affected the situation: Ferry had closed the Jesuit colleges, and after the Dreyfus case in 1904, Combes closed the schools of other teaching congregations of monks and nuns. Many of them left France for the surrounding countries; others camouflaged themselves in lay clothing and continued with their work.

During the last period of the Third Republic great efforts had

been made to improve the educational system:

(1) To lessen the Napoleonic centralization. At the end of the nineteenth century greater autonomy had been given to the seventeen State universities of France and Algeria. They had their own budget; each faculty elected its own dean; the university council was composed of professors; curricula were no longer the same but were more adapted to local needs.

(2) Curricula were modernized; more time was given to science and to practical work in the secondary schools; technical schools were founded; physical culture was developed.

(3) Democratization of the schools was a constant aim of republican statesmen. One of them, M. Herriot, tried to establish a common school where the children of the people and of the middle classes should be educated together. He tried also to make secondary schools completely non-fee-paying.

(4) An immense effort was made to develop public education in the empire.

Of course everything was not perfect. Too many children evaded the compulsory schools and were unable to write and even to read when called to the colours. University students belonged nearly all to the upper classes. The curricula of the secondary schools were sometimes old-fashioned; character training was neglected and the brain was sometimes overloaded with useless knowledge.

In fulfilment of a pledge by Joffre at the beginning of the last war a special regime was granted to Alsace-Lorraine: confessional schools were not only allowed but subsidized, and members of the clergy could still be government officials.

Under the Pétain government the Catholic Church has secured its revenge: for the first time its schools receive money from the State, and if religious teaching is not given in the elementary schools the teacher must see the vicar or curate and arrange a time and place at which it will be given.

Freedom must be restored in all our schools. The problem of the Catholic schools must be solved once and for all—on the basis of freedom, of course, but of unsubsidized independence.



# The Social and Historical Background in Czechoslovakia

Dr. Juraj Slavik

Minister of the Interior, Czechoslovakia

IF I understand my task correctly, it is not to give a full statement concerning the historical evolution of my nation, nor a complete description of the social development in my country, but I am supposed to describe, chiefly from the past of the Czechs and Slovaks, those events which had the greatest influence on the formation of the national character and which inspired the educational system, the cultural endeavours, and the moral sentiment of the Czechoslovak Republic.

## 'The German Sea'

'Since the beginning of our national independence', Dr. Benes wrote in 1934, 'we have always been surrounded by the Germanic sea, and we have always known how to protect ourselves, whether by alliances or military defence, or by political *ententes*'.

My nation has truly been formed in the struggle against Germanic numerical superiority, against which it not only succeeded in defending itself, but against which it was very often victorious. On the territory inhabited by the Czechoslovaks to-day there were formed, in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., definite State organisms, the nucleus of which were 'Bohemia', 'Moravia', or 'Slovakia'. The German sea has been washing our shores ever since these times. This took the form of military offensives, through sword and blood, but almost since the very beginning the Germans also tried other means to subjugate the Slavonic peoples and to introduce their own ideas within the territories inhabited by these peoples. The introduction of Christianity was one of such intentions, ostensibly used as a means of civilization, which the Germans employed as a pretext to conquer and subjugate our ancestors. During the reign of Louis the Pious and of his son, Louis the German, that is towards the end of the eighth century and during the ninth century, the Germans attempted to extend the jurisdiction of the bishoprics of Regensburg, Salzburg, and of Passau to Bohemia and Moravia, which at the same time signified the spreading of Germanization and the widening of the German influence.

The rulers of Great Moravia, the strongest of the State organisms of that time within the territory of to-day's Czechoslovak Republic, which at the same time was the first real Czechoslovak State organism, showed much insight in obeying their instinct of self-preservation, when they called upon Slavonic apostles from the East, from the Byzantine Empire, to introduce Christianity. The apostles Cyril and Methodius not only brought with them and strengthened Christianity, but introduced a new Slavonic alphabet which became the basis of the Cyrillic alphabet, used up to the present time in Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. I am stressing here the significance of this *national* Christian tradition, because it has left a profound impression upon the Czechoslovak soul. I am unable, however, to deal further with the description of the intrigues of the German Church authorities, who tried to hinder the work of Cyril and Methodius, and who succeeded in forcing out the Slavonic liturgy which had already been introduced, compelling it to retire to the Slavonic East.

## The Magyars

A further important fact which had a decisive but not a favourable influence on the formation and strengthening of the Czechoslovak political idea within the territory inhabited to-day by the Czechoslovaks, was the arrival of the Magyars, an Asiatic nomadic tribe which, towards the end of the ninth century fought its way up to the Danube, and at the beginning of the tenth century created in the Danubian Basin a State which became a wedge in the Slavonic body. The arrival of the Magyars divided the Czechoslovak people, and the Magyars conquered and subjugated the eastern part of to-day's Czechoslovak territory inhabited by the Slovaks, which for the period of a whole thousand years remained under their brutal, violent, and exterminating hegemony. The Slovaks, decimated and almost nationally exterminated, were liberated from this slavery only by the advent of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Czech part of the nation,

including Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, the so-called Czech provinces, had its independent and sovereign life from the tenth century until the fateful year of 1620, when the Czech independence was destroyed in the battle of the White Mountain.

The period of the next three centuries, especially during the reign of the Luxemburg dynasty, is characterized by a personage who had the most powerful influence on the formation of the Czech soul. By this I mean the Hussite movement, the reformation work of Master John Huss and his activity towards the formation of national consciousness. This movement resulted in a period of the greatest glory, during which the Czechs, fighting for the truth, entered upon a struggle 'against the whole world'. Although finally they were overpowered by superior numbers and successively came under the domination of the Habsburgs and of the reactionary spirit, the Hussite glory had such a deep influence on the soul of the people and on the formation of the nation that the mere memory of it was strong enough to overcome all the dangers of the Habsburg enslavement during the three centuries to come.

## The University of Prague

The greatest work which, within the cultural sphere, was left to us by the Luxemburg Dynasty was the foundation, by the great ruler Charles IV, of the University of Prague. The Charter of the University of Prague, carried out on the model of the University of Paris, was signed on the 7th April, 1348. This 'studium generale' became one of the first centres of international education in the Middle Ages and competed successfully with older universities at Paris, Bologna, and Oxford in the spreading of science and learning in the Europe of the Middle Ages. 'Universitas Carolina', the Charles University, did not perform its cultural tasks only within my nation; its influence was very far reaching, until the time when this world-famous institution of learning was temporarily destroyed by the modern Jingis-khan, Adolf Hitler, in 1939.

The University of Prague deeply



affected the culture of the whole country. Without going into details, a few words of explanation are in place.

Like other countries during the Middle Ages, the education of the youth in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was in the care of the Church. The first schools were founded, therefore, by the bishoprics and chapters, and near monasteries and churches. Such was the case not only in towns but in some instances also in the country. Even in the thirteenth century the administration of towns began to take charge of the education of the youth because a growing community of a new class of townsmen, who began to be an important cultural and political factor, demanded it. The towns began to take care of their schools and took part in the appointment of teachers. At that time there was no difference between the elementary and the high schools. The teachers of these town schools were university graduates. Thus the university came into direct contact with the lower schools and exercised a certain influence over them because these teachers remained on the rolls of the university.

When, after the Hussite wars, the university came into the hands of the Protestants, this collaboration continued with schools of the same confession, and the Catholic schools returned to the control of the heads of the bishopric of Prague.

From its foundation, the University of Prague formed an important link between the Czech provinces on the one hand, and Slovakia, incorporated within Hungary, on the other. Many learned Slovaks were studying at the University of Prague and after their return to their country they spread the consciousness of relationship and coherence between the Czech and Slovak branch of the same people.

### John Huss

Returning to John Huss, I am unable to give details of him and of the influence which the Hussite movement exercised on the further evolution of the nation. It is necessary to state that the reformation work of John Huss was greatly affected by the teachings of the English reformer, Wiclif. But here it must be added that although the heresy of Huss was the direct cause of his being cited before the Council at Constance and of his

being burned at the stake, and although his martyr's death provoked directly a great revolution in the soul of the people and has led to heroic struggles and wars, he exercised his greatest influence on the destinies of our nation not so much as Huss the reformer, but chiefly as Huss the patriot and the founder of national consciousness. Thus Huss is cherished and honoured by the whole nation, even by the faithful and orthodox adherents of the Roman Catholic Church.

The writings of Huss in the Czech language, his *Expositions*, his *Postilla*, his *Super IV Sententiarum*, and above all his *Letters from Prison*, especially the one addressed to the Bohemian nation, are the source of strength and comfort even to to-day's generation, namely, to those suffering to-day in my tortured country. The merits of Master John Huss with regard to the development of the Czech literary language and of the Czechoslovak culture are immortal.

The Czechoslovak people consider him as one of the greatest men of their history, who stirred their national life, who unfolded and perfected its literary language, who awakened its national consciousness, who, by his martyr's death gave rise to battles and struggles which up to this day are a source of national strength and vigour, and which, in a great measure, contributed to the preservation of the nation as well as to the present resistance of the Czechoslovak people against the German oppressor and enslaver. For myself, a Slovak, it is a pleasure to state that the Hussite spirit left deep impressions in Slovakia, and that to a great extent it prepared the union of all the Czechoslovaks, and the resurrection of the Czechoslovak State as a national and political entity.

It can be understood, then, how the Czechoslovak legions, fighting during the last war in the West on the French battlefields and in Italy, and especially in the East in the wide plains of Russia and Siberia, continued the Hussite tradition, and went into battle following a Hussite flag and the sound of Hussite songs. Even their regiments bore the names of John Huss and of John Zizka.

So also in this war, while in this free country of Great Britain a Czechoslovak army is assembling to

defend the truth which has been violated, and while Czechoslovak aviators and soldiers are dying for liberty, the Hussite tradition is alive and active. The nation at home, deprived of its schools and even of the university at which John Huss and his friend, Jeronym of Prague, taught, derives from the words of John Huss its strength in the struggle against evil and the Nazi barbarians. The works of John Huss are being newly published and thus take the place of free speech and free press, which are suppressed.

I have no time to dwell on this extraordinarily interesting, heroic period. I would just like to mention a few great persons whose lives left a marked trace on the spiritual life, on the consciousness and development of our nation. Of the predecessors of Huss, we may mention Tomas Stitny and Matus of Janov. Of his contemporaries, followers, and pupils: Jan Zizka, the famous general and the first inventor of mobile armour—even though at that time the fortifications consisted only of reinforced wagons which formed a wall; his successor, Prokop Holy; further the great national King George of Podebrady, who was the first to undertake the formation of a sort of League of Nations; Jan Jiskra of Brandys, whose armies penetrated to Slovakia where, while spreading the Hussite spirit in the Czech language, they revived the consciousness of unity between the Czechs and Slovaks. Of the spiritual educators of the Hussite tradition we may mention Jan of Rokycany, and especially the founder of the Bohemian Brethren, Petr Chelcicky.

This brings us to the greatest educator of his time, the teacher of many nations, John Amos Comenius.

When, after the end of the last war, T. G. Masaryk was returning to his liberated country, his first message to the Czechoslovak people and to the National Assembly started with a passage from Comenius' 'Ksaft', a work which speaks to our people in the most sensitive and touching terms. It is, at the same time, a beautiful piece of literature, a testament and a prophecy. The passage in question, which became a motto to Masaryk's endeavours, to his sacrificing and immortal work, says:

'I too believe before God that after the passing of the storm of wrath, brought down upon our



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heads by our sins, the rule over thine own possessions shall return to thee again, O Czech people.'

In the revolutionary National Assembly, our first legislative body in the liberated Czechoslovakia, we listened with deep emotion to these words of Comenius, spoken by T. G. Masaryk. We had the feeling that two great sons of our nation, the two greatest born of a Czechoslovak mother, had met in their wanderings through the universe, and that through time and space of three centuries, they held hands. From that moment the free Czechoslovak people have, with piety, enclosed both of them for ever in their hearts. Such moments are rare in the lives of men as well as of nations.

Here in this country in exile, we commemorated the 350th anniversary of the birth, and the 300th anniversary of the coming to England of this great pilgrim. Comenius was a priest and a bishop of the Bohemian Brethren. After the catastrophe at the White Mountain, when the Czech State was destroyed, the leading members of the Bohemian Brethren had to leave the country. Exiled from his country, but inspired by a sacred love of his then unhappy people and

of all other peoples, Comenius went from country to country spreading among educated peoples the rich seed of piety, culture, and love of peace.

Comenius became a teacher of all nations, but he was, in the first place, the educator and teacher of his own nation. When, after the reawakening of our nation there came the revival of our schools, the teachers and educators remembered Comenius and started to study his works. The whole archive of Comenius' pedagogical writings came to light and deeply influenced scores of new reformers of schools and education. Every Czechoslovak pedagogue considered Comenius as his teacher and regarded his wide and deep understanding as a great source of knowledge.

T. G. Masaryk, who followed and realized the ideals of Comenius, showed both by his work and by his life that the greatest importance of Comenius for our people lay in the fact that he knew, from his own experience, the culture of other nations and was therefore able to give all the endeavours of Czechoslovakia a world wide scope.

During his sojourn in England he had great hopes that his efforts for the deepening of education and

culture would be realized. He saw the possibility of creating here in England the centre of a sort of spiritual empire from which would emanate not only all sources of culture and education, of progress and reforms, but also directions and rules relating to politics and economics. In a letter written from England to friends in Leszna, in Poland, he stated that he found here such a great quantity of books, that on the whole market in Frankfurt there were not as many books as could be found in England in a single book-store on a single day. Like the enlightened Czech king, Jiri of Podebrady, Comenius was dreaming of a Society of Nations, an organization provided with a complete jurisdiction and based on the aims and consent of all other nations. It was not a mere utopian dream. Comenius always pointed to practical aims, he set forth the causes and means, and stated new proposals for educational reform.

When Comenius, the greatest of our minds, left our country, the written word remained, and even though the Czech books were burned, his word had a powerful influence. Here I am thinking of the Czech translation of the Bible



of Králice, which fulfilled not only its religious task, but also helped to lift up and maintain the national language and national consciousness. This sacred book was and has remained a powerful link between Czechs and Slovaks, who were then divided by a frontier. It has remained the Bible of the Protestant Churches of both branches of the Czechoslovak people living in Austria and in Hungary.

During the period of national subjection we can hardly think of any element as powerful as this translation of the Bible.

I have not time to pay even fleeting attention to the now famous figures of the so-called national revivalists. I shall just state a few leading principles which pertain to this revivalist movement and which characterize the end of the eighteenth century and two-thirds of the nineteenth century. They are:

- (1) The development of a national language and literature and consequently of national consciousness.
- (2) The consciousness of common origin and of the need for solidarity between all Slavonic nations.
- (3) The struggle to save the nation from Austrian germanization and from magyarization from Hungary.
- (4) The struggle not only for national rights, but also for rights of men in general, for social justice and for a progressive and democratic administration of all public affairs.
- (5) The striving for autonomy and national sovereignty.

All these leading thoughts were common to the Czechs in Austria and to the Slovaks in Hungary. The revolutionary years 1848-49 were the first signs of hope of the realization of the Czechoslovak ideals. A very powerful reaction, however, followed these years, being especially strong in Hungary, where the Slovaks, under the Magyar oppression, were unable to acquire that degree of strength, of economic well-being, and of political importance which was obtained by the more mature Czechs in Austria, who excelled in State administration, who had their own schools and scientific institutions, and who, by their great diligence and perseverance, attained both political and

economic importance within the Austrian half of the Habsburg monarchy.

### The Sokol

In the eighties of the last century a new powerful moving force in the national life was the Sokol Movement.

The Sokol organization was created in 1862, and its spiritual conceiver and founder was Doctor Miroslav Tyrš. He was inspired by the classic ideals of Greek physical culture which he, being himself an historian and aesthete, regarded as the highest goal of perfection. Tyrš gave the Sokol a firm ideological basis and worked out for it a system of physical culture. He laid the main emphasis on the idea that his people had to become a people of perfect individuals who by their general youth would not let the nation disintegrate, and, in keeping strong, vigorous, and healthy—both physically as well as spiritually and morally—would keep off all possible injury from themselves and from their nation.

The first Sokol association was formed in Prague, with Jindřich Fügner as its President. Doctor Tyrš named it Sokol (Falcon) after a bird which in the Slavonic tradition used to be a symbol of strength, idealism, daring, and bravery. The Sokol organization started with a small membership. At its first Congress in 1862, when already the Sokol idea had taken root in the main centres of the Czech provinces and had begun to spread to other Slavonic nations, it counted 720 exercising members and 1,600 members who marched in the parade. Even in times of national suffering the Sokol grew rapidly. It spread to other Slavonic peoples, penetrated to the Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians, Poles, and finally also to the greatest Slavonic peoples, the Russians. The year 1909 saw the formation of the Federation of Slavonic Sokols in which, up to the time of the temporary disappearance of the Czechoslovak Sokol Community, had been centred all Sokol activity among Slavonic nations. The Sokol movement consisted of a voluntary association of patriotic enthusiasts, who undertook to spread the democratic ideas of brotherhood within the nation and among the entire Slavonic world. The Sokols addressed each other 'brother' or 'sister', and trans-

ferred the idea of a true brotherhood even to the private life of individual members. To be a Sokol signified, in the first place, to be an honest man and a man of honour. The Sokol movement did not suffer within its ranks persons morally defective or who did not possess a straight character. During the last war, when the Czechoslovak people together with other Slavonic peoples found their opportunity to renew the Slavonic political independence and liberty, the Sokol movement became a driving power in this struggle. The Sokols became organizers of the Czechoslovak Legions, and the Sokol brotherhood gave a fraternal spirit to these voluntary champions of national liberty. In the free Czechoslovak Republic the Sokol movement attained a high degree of development. At the very outset, when the Czechoslovak Legions were still sojourning in far away countries, the Sokol brotherhood took charge of the situation at home, keeping public order, and maintaining national discipline. They took the place of soldiers, railway men and administrative officials. Notably in Slovakia, then temporarily occupied by Magyar bands, the Sokols arrived from the Czech provinces in well-disciplined formations and with arms in their hands, in order to defend the soil of the new State, to put in motion the wheels of machines stopped by hostile acts of sabotage, and to bring order and orderly life out of the then existing chaos. Many Sokols sacrificed their lives for the liberty of their country.

The growth of the Sokol movement within the Czechoslovak Republic may be demonstrated by a few figures. The first Congress in 1920 held in the liberated country was attended already by 70,000 active gymnasts; this number grew and at the last Congress in 1938 it attained the figure of 130,000 gymnasts. The aggregate membership of the Sokol amounted then to 1,000,000 members, belonging to over 3,000 unions and to 52 Sokol districts.

### 1918-1938

And thus, by way of enumerating the most important points of Czechoslovak history, we arrive at the time when the first world war presented to the Czechs and Slovaks the opportunity to realize the dreams and ideals of generations.



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The liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic has been the realization of everything which the Czechoslovak patriots desired during long centuries of subjection, foreign conquest, and division. It is a direct line which is traced from Huss, Comenius, and Chelcicky, through Palacky, Kollár, Stúr and his group, to Masaryk and his followers. The Czechoslovak nation was very fortunate that the struggle for liberation was led by the great philosopher and teacher, T. G. Masaryk, who, although his political party before the war was one of the smallest, had a great following and an immense influence among the young generation in the Czech provinces and in Slovakia. Masaryk has been named President-Liberator but the name President the Builder should also belong to him, as we may say without exaggeration that it is by his merit and by that of his collaborators that the young State gained, in the world, the deserving reputation of a truly democratic State, a State just to all its citizens, a State consolidated within a short period, and a State mature both culturally and economically.

The work performed in the

twenty years of the Czechoslovak Republic was not by any means easy. As I have already stated, the Czech part of the Republic was mature in every respect. The Slovak part and Carpathian Ruthenia were economically and culturally far behind. I shall just give you a few figures:

According to Hungarian statistics the Slovaks formed 14.8 per cent. of the population of former Hungary. In the whole of Hungary there were 13,017 civil servants. Of these only 35 were of Slovak nationality and but two of these 35 had their posts within the territory which became a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. There were 19 Slovak municipal employees out of the total of 7,090, and finally there were 38 Slovaks as town clerks and notaries out of the total of 5,313. In the whole of Slovakia there was not one magistrate of Slovak nationality, and in the whole of Hungary, out of the total number of magistrates, but one was Slovak. Of 23,384 teachers in primary schools only 404 were Slovaks. In the Slovak territory, of 4,731 teachers, 345 were Slovaks. Out of 2,770 teachers in secondary

schools three were Slovaks. Out of 3,843 high school teachers 23 were Slovaks; in Slovak territory, out of 660, 10 were Slovaks.

In all walks of life, and especially in education, an almost miraculous effort was accomplished. After twenty years of the Republic it was possible to say that in the whole State the educational standard was raised almost to the same level. In Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia these results were accomplished, of course, with Czech help.

In the same measure an immense work was performed in the field of social progress. Within the scope of social legislation Czechoslovakia assumed, in post-war Europe, one of the leading places. This result was not arrived at by artificial means which would be out of step with other conditions of life; Czechoslovakia was able to approach the ideal of political, educational and social equality just because the whole structure of the nation corresponded to its democratic foundation and because the whole tradition of the people grew out of the spirit of social justice. In Czech and Slovak society there has not remained any trace of the



feudal system; aristocracy in the Czech provinces existed only nominally, and in Slovakia there was no aristocracy at all. The educated class was drafted from the broad masses of the people, from the working classes and peasants. The whole struggle for liberty has at the same time been a struggle for equal

social and human rights in all classes of people. It is self-evident, therefore, that every reform in education has been carried out in a democratic spirit, according to the idea that everybody is equally entitled to have access to education.

I end with a glimpse of the future, a future I hope not very

distant. We are preparing diligently, and with feelings of great obligation, for our return to our country, in order to continue in the spirit of President Masaryk and under the leadership of his pupil, Dr. Edward Benes, the work which has been interrupted by violence.

## Integrating and Disintegrating Forces in Czechoslovakian, French and Polish Education<sup>1</sup>

**I**N reading this report it should be borne in mind that, apart from the opening addresses on the first day of the conference, the time available for study and discussion was five and a half hours, during which time a great deal of factual information had to be absorbed. This synthesis of the group reports is neither a complete survey of the educational systems of France, Poland and Czechoslovakia nor a subtle analysis of the forces influencing and created by them. It is at the best an accurate statement of the general range of discussion and a record of the facts which seemed to a gathering of regretfully and regrettably ignorant teachers to be of most significance. In each of the groups it was clearly realized that in spite of the invaluable help of the experts from each country there was not time for more than a first approach. (As it happened, few, if any, of the French experts had had administrative experience, and therefore the importance of Jean Zay's reforms in the Blum government was neglected.) This is not inconsistent with the equally general opinion that the discussions were of very great immediate value and would be of even greater value after digestion, reflection and further study.

Each group was given a summary of the educational system of each of the countries by an educationist belonging to it. These are some of the facts which seemed of particular interest to the conference and are not mentioned elsewhere in this report.

**France** The two chief problems were the relation of Church and State, and the relative importance of classical and modern, or scientific, studies.

**Poland** At one period Poland spent about one-third of its budget on education, and just before the war 18 per cent.; twice as much as on any other item. The bulk of its population, including the children of the well-to-do, went to the public schools. Private schools were inspected and forced to maintain adequate standards; children from private schools who failed to reach a reasonable standard could be compelled to go to a public school. Repeated refresher courses were recognised as an essential part of the training of teachers. Children received compulsory education till the age of fourteen but were not allowed to work till they had had a further year's vocational training. 95 per cent. of the primary schools and 50 per cent. of the secondary schools were free. In the opinion of one expert who had made a comparative study of Polish and Scottish methods of teaching reading, it suited Polish children, and the Polish language, to postpone it till the age of seven. The 'syllabus' for the ages 5-8 in Scotland was equivalent to the Polish 'syllabus' for the age 7-8.

**Czechoslovakia** This country had compulsory part-time continued education up to 17 or 18. The entrance examination for secondary schools was non-competitive; selection was made on the primary school record and an internal

examination, the secondary schools alone decided upon the acceptance of pupils. There was no problem of Church and State: religious teaching was given in school hours by representatives of the denominations. There was easy transfer between senior and secondary schools, which had a common curriculum for the first two years. Latterly there had been a tendency to merge senior and secondary schools into one multilateral secondary system.

In all these countries the position of women teachers was better, compared with men, than in this country: there was equal pay for equal work and no ban on married teachers. There were also family allowances.

Most striking is the essential similarity of the plans which were being hammered out in all three countries before the war. They must, therefore, be broadly based on the needs of human nature in an increasingly industrialised society. Different countries were ahead at different places, but the main trends were roughly parallel. All were aiming at free compulsory education from six (in Poland only, from seven) to fourteen, a secondary education for all at adolescence, and easy access to the university and higher technical education for all who could profit by it. There seemed to be a general trend from classical to scientific education at the higher levels and towards a more practical, and less academic, one at the lower. Unfortunately all the countries, like our own, were backward in the provision of adequate education for the under-fives.

**The Force of Tradition** No country, of course, has one tradition, but sets of traditions often pulling in different ways. France, with a relatively homogeneous national culture and an educational system

<sup>1</sup> In the report of this Conference the following terms are used as defined:

**Primary School:** A school dealing with the first stage of formal or compulsory whole-time education, however administered.

**Secondary School:** A school dealing with the second stage of whole-time education, however administered; intermediate between the primary school and the university (if any) but usually excluding the technical school.

**Senior School:** A school where the primary stage of education is prolonged, for lack of the secondary.

**Continuation School:** A school which continues primary or secondary education part-time only.

**Public School:** A school the ultimate control of which lies wholly in the hands of the State.

**Private School:** A school which is the property of some body other than the State.

**Free School:** A school where there are no fees for instruction. Not, here, the (usually) Catholic 'free' schools of France.



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established early, has more vested interests to uproot, more conservatism to break up, more social barriers to override and more habitual pedagogical practices to re-examine than have Czechoslovakia and Poland. She is more like us here. Much of her higher education, founded by Napoleon, was based on military needs and retains its military discipline, its officer-caste flavour. Again, where the schools are based on the Catholic church, they are welded into a highly organized international and powerful body, conservative in tendency, difficult to adjust easily. On the other hand, France has also a tradition of passionate love of freedom, of willingness to listen to and follow revolutionary ideas. The ideas of Rousseau and Condorcet had some influence throughout the nineteenth century and have borne fruit at intervals, the last and most important fruit perhaps being the idea of the common school (*l'école unique*). The influence of tradition may also be seen in the importance attached to the family, derived probably from the agricultural background of the country and the consequent strong loyalty to the family as a primary economic unit. Love of France, freedom and the family are feelings common to most French people, implying great freedom of speech and a highly individualistic outlook for both teachers and taught.

In Poland tradition and patriot-

ism go together. In the Middle Ages she was a kingdom, and later a federation of peoples; she has never forgotten that she was once one. She was the European outpost against the Tartar invaders and had to be united. Then later came dismemberment and oppression, heavier even than in Czechoslovakia, and education acquired an intense value as a means of cultural solidarity, a weapon of revolt and release. It had to be secret and it had to be patriotic. In the words of Professor Kot, 'This phenomenon of the existence of the national bond despite the absence of the national State . . . has to be explained by the existence of an unbroken and conscious political and national tradition'.

In Czechoslovakia there is the same welding of tradition and patriotism. A group of more or less friendly peoples had to hold together against the threat of German and Magyar domination and infiltration; one means of doing so was by education in the national vernacular. Love of freedom and belief in education was an essential part of their thinking, and when the opportunity came in 1918, the people who had been kept educationally undernourished by their oppressors were ready to allow their leaders to plan freely where so much had to be done newly, and make a complete educational system—free, non-competitive, and modern.

**The Force of Religion** Religion has served as an integrating and as

a disintegrating force; perhaps a distinction should be drawn between religion and the churches. An essential Christian doctrine is that men are free and equal; therefore if education is necessary for anybody it is necessary for all. But in all the countries under discussion (but least in Czechoslovakia) the churches have become vested interests and have fought amongst themselves, thereby hindering progress. But the influence of religion is different in a country with a congeries of national groups, each with its own religious system. There the demand to teach the religion of the national group is allied with the demand for freedom, and can be an integrating force. This is true of both Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Poland religious and patriotic forces were combined, for under the occupation the churches and synagogues were powerful guardians of the Polish language. Religious teaching was controlled and inspected both by the State and by the churches. In Czechoslovakia, though the Protestants, approximately 27 per cent. of the population, had been one of the strongest forces in the movement of national liberation, the Catholic Church supported the national aspirations, and such difficulties as existed between Catholics and Protestants were rapidly dying out. In France, partly because the Church had allied itself with reactionary politics, there was cleavage between Church and State, especially in the smaller towns and villages. No religious instruction was given in State schools, except in the lycées, where it was held outside ordinary school hours. Primary schools had secular moral instruction provided in the curriculum. A small body of opinion in one of the groups held that in none of the three countries could religion be considered by the State as an integral part of education because, even in Czechoslovakia where the importance of religious education seemed to be most fully realized, it could not influence the whole life of the school, being restricted to the visiting times of the denominational teachers.

**Political Forces** Political movements are also forces which may integrate or disintegrate. Where you have, for instance, politically-minded teachers moving to the right or to the left you have a



disruptive force. In all three countries there was some desire to unite the teachers into one big professional body, and link that to the trade unions; but there was a greater tendency for teachers to hold office in the Government. In Poland 70 per cent. of the teachers were in one union. In Czechoslovakia and France they were divided into several professional associations, as here, though there was a co-ordinating union in France.

**Economic Forces** France was industrialized to an extent of 50 per cent. of the population, Czechoslovakia 35-40 per cent., Poland 15 per cent. In France the economic and industrial changes, being much greater than in Czechoslovakia or Poland, had rendered the family less effective as a social unit. The Poles wanted to increase their industries, and the improvement in their vocational and technical schools seemed to be an intelligent anticipation of economic changes. Whereas at one time intellectual studies had been valued above practical, the changes since 1932 had made the opposite true. There was much evidence in Czechoslovakia of the ready assimilation of new ideas, without any consequent social disintegration.

**Purely Disruptive Forces** Of purely disruptive forces the most important discussed were racial division and rivalry, language differences, and differing levels of wealth and culture. The first were most marked, of course, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, but even France had to cope with demands for the revival of teaching in Breton, Provençal, and German in Alsace-Lorraine. In Czechoslovakia minorities had their own schools and inspectors, and the language of instruction was the mother-tongue of the minority. The same arrangement held in those parts of Poland where the minority population was homogeneous; where it was mixed, bilingual schools were established. In both countries the essential problem of loyalty divided between the national group and the State seemed to have been tackled in the only hopeful way, which the world as a whole has yet to learn: to encourage to the highest degree the cultural and domestic individualities of the minorities while educating them for a wider vision politically and economically. A reminder, nevertheless, was given that,

especially in Poland, performance was frequently behind professions of principle, however sincere, largely because of the poverty of the country, and that the bilingual schools had not always given satisfaction to the minorities. Poverty was undoubtedly Poland's greatest difficulty: even before the war she had been short of buildings, books, equipment of all kinds, and teachers. Class differences had been least disruptive in Czechoslovakia, most in France. In Czechoslovakia the nobility had been largely German; the present population was united and free from class-division by birth. In Poland something towards the same effect had been caused by the general impoverishment of all classes under foreign domination and their co-operation in the common resistance. There was some disagreement as to whether class-division in France was predominantly by wealth or by birth. It seemed that the Poles and Czechs were (politely) horrified at the class-division they found in Britain. In Czechoslovakia the State schools were so ready to accept new ideas that although it was possible for private schools to exist they were negligible. In France the accommodation (such as laboratories) for special subjects was much better in the State schools than in the private, though in other ways the private schools were often very good and contained a quarter of the school population. They existed side by side with the State schools at all stages, and though the private primary schools were regarded (with some slight disagreement) as inferior to the State primary schools this was not on the whole true of the secondary schools. In Poland less than 1 per cent. of the children attended private primary schools, and although the proportion in the private secondary schools was nearer 50 per cent. this was due mainly to lack of means to provide all the State secondary schools that were needed. The people were definitely in favour of State schools, as having a higher standard, though all private schools had the same curriculum and examinations as the State schools. On the whole question of the 'State school' it was felt most significant that in Czechoslovakia there was such a close identification of the people with the State that they regarded it as *theirs*, not something

imposed from above. Finally, the very drive for progress can be a disruptive force: those who don't like freedom and equality fight or secede or, at the least, hinder by their apathy.

It was evident from the discussions that, although each country expressed the desire for free or very cheap education for all, equal opportunity had not been achieved: in France chiefly because very poor people could not afford to have their children at school when they might be earning money; in Poland because there were districts so poor and so sparsely populated that full secondary and higher education could not be provided; in Czechoslovakia because the overcrowding of the black-coated professions made it advisable to persuade children into the technical schools rather than the universities.

**Position of Teachers** The position of teachers in all three countries was high and it was possible for them to lead a full social and political life; in fact, outside activities, especially in local government, were encouraged. There was some disagreement as to whether this was all true of the towns in Poland, where the teacher's status was said to depend more on his salary, and it was generally held that in France the elementary school teacher was considered the social inferior of the secondary school teacher. Teachers had an especially integrating importance in Czechoslovakia, where, during the oppression they had been the torch-bearers of the national revival. Teachers were much more politically conscious than in England.

**Individual Integration** All countries are faced with need for providing educational prophylactics against individual disintegration and securing positive means of integration. In Poland the aim was to have a school psychologist on each staff. Where the size of the school did not make this economic, the psychologist served a group of schools, as in Czechoslovakia. Vocational guidance was regularly given in both Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the higher forms of secondary schools took psychology as a subject. In France, the home of Binet, there seemed to be a much more widespread suspicion of the value of psychological guidance, either in selection or in the resolving of children's emotional difficulties.



On the whole France was satisfied that the ordinary teacher, with sympathy and insight, could cope with psychological difficulties as they arose, in consultation with the parents. In Poland and Czechoslovakia sex instruction was given systematically as part of the teaching of biology. In France there seemed to be less specific sex instruction in schools.

On the more positive and constructive side there was a similarity in development to our own progressive education. The children were encouraged in self-government in ways which brought them real social satisfaction. In England self-government tended to work most in matters of discipline; in Poland and Czechoslovakia, where there was considerable national poverty and therefore a clearly realized social want for the children to fill—in, for instance, the provision of school apparatus—self-government meant a real and practical preparation for living in society. In all three countries the educational value of aesthetic appre-

ciation and creativeness was realized. In Poland especially everyday experience in the school theatre and of professional performances for children was stressed as a means of intellectual and emotional fulfilment. Czechoslovakia had old traditional puppet shows of Bible stories and the lives of the Saints. When the Republic was established this tradition was used to spread new social and moral ideas, and their puppets became very popular, particularly in the villages. One puppet, 'Karperek', played many parts, gave much sound advice and became a great favourite. The Sokols and many other societies and clubs started their own Marionette Theatres, some stressing the artistic, others the didactic possibilities, but never neglecting beauty or humour. The Ministry of Education introduced marionettes into the schools, particularly for civics and history. There is no doubt that these puppets helped both social and individual integration. Handwork was widely encouraged, and all such things as school magazines, newspapers,

school visits, youth movements, including the particularly vital contribution of Scouting. In all three countries the Scout movement acted as a socializing rather than as a militaristic influence and was among the most important youth organizations. The pupil-run school press was well developed in both Poland and Czechoslovakia, enabling children to grapple with social matters; but of these countries, Poland, with a shorter school day, made more provision for extra-curricular activities on a large scale. In France there was a great impetus for social activity in and out of school under the Front Populaire, when clubs and group activities were greatly encouraged. Some of these were unsuccessful, probably because the teachers were not trained for them. Some social training was obtained during military service and through the development of Youth Hostels. A parent-teacher movement was developing in all three countries. In Czechoslovakia parents' councils met once a fortnight.

## The Joint Conference

The organizers of the Joint Conference on 'Towards an Integrated Education' (A Comparative Study of Education in Czechoslovakia, France and Poland) wish to thank most warmly all those who contributed to the programme.

### Speakers and Chairmen

Dr. Juraj Slavik (Minister of the Interior, Czechoslovakia), Professor S. Kot (Minister of State, Poland), Professor L. Hermann (Rennes University), Sir Fred Clarke (Director, London University Institute of Education), Dr. W. J. Rose (Director, School of Slavonic and E. European Studies), Dr. Jiri F. Vranek (formerly Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, and of the Czechoslovak Board of Education).

### Study Groups

LEADERS—*Czechoslovakia*: Dr. V. Fried, Miss Andela K., Mr. Milos Sova, Lt. J. T., Lt. A. S., Corporal V. S.

*Poland and France*: Mr. B. S. Drzewieski, Dr. J. Konopnicki, Mrs. A. M. Stöcker, Lt. F. Kucko-Zukowski, Dr. F. Bartkowiak, Mr. Starczewski, M. R. J. Vangrévelinghe, Lt. J. Voisine.

CHAIRMEN—Mr. E. W. Woodhead (Chairman, N.E.F. English Section), Miss D. Dymes, and Mr. D. Jordan (Goldsmiths' Training College).

SECRETARIES—Miss M. H. Bradley and Miss M. Brearley (Froebel Training College), Mrs. H.

Clark (Secretary, N.E.F. English Section).

REPORTERS—Dr. Evelyn Lawrence, Miss C. Oppenheim, and Miss V. Shann; Mr. Ian Michael (Conference Reporter).

CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN—Mr. J. A. Lauwerys (Chairman, N.E.F.).

SECRETARY—Miss Clare Soper (Secretary, N.E.F.).

(The Conference was organized through the co-operation of the New Education Fellowship (International Headquarters and English Section), the National Froebel Foundation, the Nursery School Association and the Association of Teachers in Training Colleges and Departments of Education. It was held in London from 29th to 31st December, 1943—see note on page 40.)



# Tension and Integration

W. J. Rose

Director, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London

IT has been made clear, during the three days of this conference, that our decision to study France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia has been justified, not only by the intrinsic importance for education of each of these countries, but especially by their significance in relation to each other. Poland and Czechoslovakia have been influenced by France more deeply than we in this country realize, yet they share problems unknown to her and to us. France, even more than Italy or Greece, represents the essential Europe; and Poland and Czechoslovakia, as we know to our shame, are not only in Europe, but of it—more deeply than we realize. The subject of this conference, therefore, bears on the whole European problem: an integrated education implies national as well as personal integration.

Integration implies also tension. Do not be afraid of tension: in some sense all things, physical, mechanical, spiritual, possess and depend on tension. Till the eighteenth century, and in England the nineteenth, the family and the church were supreme in education; there was no activity generally agreed to be of educational value control of which did not lie unchallenged in the hands of one or the other. But with the development, through Bacon, Newton, Locke, Montesquieu, the Encyclopaedists, of the 'Secular Idea', commonly but imprecisely equated with Science, came a challenge which set up a tension of the profoundest importance to-day. The French Revolution, activated in part by the *emotional* drive it received from Rousseau, provided the dynamic for the Secular Idea, with which, in France and Central Europe, it so happened that the State was in agreement, for political and social, not for philosophical reasons. From this coincidence has sprung much misunderstanding of the 'hostility' between Church and State. The Church saw things that it held sacred threatened and gathered its forces in defence of them. The tension, then, has not been between these two institutions so much as between two outlooks, the secular and the ecclesiastical.

A monopoly of educational theory and practice by either one, to the exclusion of the other, would be disastrous. Working together, respecting one another, at times even contending with one another, they can produce the 'personality', whether individual or group, that should be the goal of our striving.

May I repeat it: do not be afraid of tension! Too much tension, tension at the wrong time, in the wrong place, these may be disastrous; but a degree of tension is a condition of progress, if not of existence. The higher the level, the finer the product. Democracy itself, the true democracy which has not yet been achieved, is based on tension; it is just because of this tension that it is the truest political expression of fellowship. When combined with tolerance, tension gives one the right instrument and the right atmosphere for progress.

In the past education was 'neutral'; it dealt with matters over which people did not quarrel. Now it is being vastly extended both in its content and in the range of society which it covers; it is meeting people of two extreme types: those to whom faith is the most precious thing in life, and those to whom it is a childish superstition. Somewhere these two extremes can work together; somewhere the tension between them can produce a constructive equilibrium, a collaboration which is more than compromise; which is, in fact, integration.

I suggest this picture, a sort of pedagogical device, which may help our thinking about integration. At the foot of a scale I put the tool, or the machine: an illustration of the simplest form of 'togetherness' (*zusammenleben*, symbiosis) where individuals, here the parts of the machine, are related so as to form a group. In itself the machine is rigid—a dead thing; the mind is outside it. The members, the individuals, the parts of the machine, are useless when taken away from it and the machine is useless when any of them are taken away. Above the machine I put the organism, which, unlike the machine, can adapt itself to the loss of a member and has the mind

inside it. Above the organism the anthill or beehive, which works like a machine but is more than a machine; which works like an organism but is more than an organism, for each of its members is itself an organism and has a measure of independent existence, thereby increasing the possibility of tension. Further up the scale is the herd. It is still true that every member will die in isolation, but there is in each member a nearer approach to personality. Here we have a measure of initiative, and so a still greater possibility of tension. Above the herd is the tribe of primitive men and women and the clear beginning of mind, personality, individuality, bringing greater tension and therefore more machinery for social control. Then we come to the nation, within which exists the highest degree of individuality and often very great tension; but there is still machinery for control, if any one will use it. (By the nation I do not mean the State. If I must mention the State I would describe it as an institution set up by the nation for special purposes.)

You are born into the nation; you cannot enter it because you want to; you cannot get away from it unless you deliberately break out. Therefore at the very top of my scale I put a Fellowship, a group into which you can enter because you want to and can leave for the same reason; a group in which there still may be the greatest tension, but of a higher, purified sort. Here, however, and only here do we have the possibility of the highest degree of integration: the fulness of individual self-expression with the fulness of group unity.

Lastly, a word of warning: *Corruptio optimi pessima*. Some who followed and worked for the Nazis in the early days doubtless thought they were achieving fellowship. To us, seeing the results of their work, it seems clear that they did not. In fact they could not. Instead of the highest product, they have achieved a combination of the anthill and the machine-useful things, efficient in the extreme but not even human. That is what we must avoid at all costs.



# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Bulletin No. 15  
February-March 1944

David Jordan,  
20 Dorchester Avenue, London, N.13

Although this Bulletin will not reach you until the early days of February, it is being written on the eve of 1st January. It is an appropriate time to review the past successes and future hopes of the Fellowship and to make resolutions about the part we intend to play in the march of events in 1944. The survey of local branches given in the last Bulletin shows clearly that the skeleton of a national organization is slowly being set up. The Organizing Secretary's experience of branch formation and her enthusiastic attention to this side of the work of the Fellowship has resulted in great expansion during the past few months. The English Section of the N.E.F. is growing in numbers and in influence and the activities of local branches and individual members are much more extensive and effective than can be indicated in the brief notes in the Bulletin. Many of our most interested and active members, who would be the first to acknowledge the encouragement and inspiration which they gain from membership, work for educational advance in their own areas through other bodies than our own branches. The E.N.E.F. must strengthen such individual affiliation if it is to attain maximum effectiveness, and must encourage its members to propagate in other associations the ideals and principles for which the Fellowship stands. Only thus can we exert the leavening influence in educational circles which will be needed if legislation is to give rise to any vital social and educational change.

As an organization we have four main tasks. To stimulate interest in educational advance among parents, teachers and administrators, and to make our ideas effective through the work of the local branches; to inaugurate and direct research in educational technique; to encourage individual members to permeate the professional associations with the principles of the E.N.E.F.; and to provide a link between people who hold progressive opinions so that they may the more effectively 'withstand in

the evil day'. Mr. Lauwerys expressed the latter idea when he suggested, on the occasion of Mr. Redefers' lectures at the Morley College, that probably the greatest value of such meetings came, not from an increase in knowledge, but from the raising of the 'educational morale' of those who attended. While making our organization more effective we must not cease to stress this very important, if somewhat indeterminate, contribution which the Fellowship makes, and *which no other organization can make in quite the same way*. This is the basis of our claim to a unique place in the educational scheme of things. We are not tied to a particular programme, we have no professional axe to grind, we are not amenable to the influence of a powerful body of permanent officials; we can seek or grant affiliation wherever and whenever it seems desirable in the furtherance of our general principles; we have the kind of fluidity which makes progressive activity possible, and a fundamentally democratic form of organization which can minimize the gap which frequently exists between the outlook of an ordinary member and the action of an executive committee.

To carry out our task two things are imperative. The first is to increase the number of branches and thus exert a growing influence in local areas; the second is to increase the number of individual members who through their subscriptions finance our activities, through their professional affiliations spread our ideas in other bodies, and through their own work as teachers, lecturers, or administrators exemplify the validity of these ideas in the practice of education. What we need above all if we are to be effective is to link up the work of the branches, so that each branch member becomes conscious of being linked with a national organization, feels the need to become more actively identified with our national purpose, and is therefore willing to subscribe to our work by becoming an individual member. At the same time existing individual members not connected with a local branch must be kept identified with the activities of the

general body, must know the sustaining power of co-operation with others in the furtherance of our aims, and must feel the 'fellowship of kindred minds' as an inspiration to continued activity in the classroom, the staff room, lecture room, or the administrative office. Every member needs to think of the Fellowship not as an organization which he supports, but as an organic unity of which he forms a part.

The chief medium for establishing and maintaining a sense of vital contact between members of different branches and between the scattered individual members of the Fellowship is the monthly Bulletin. Individual members receive it as a part of *The New Era* and sufficient copies are off-printed for circulation to all branch members through their branch secretary. If, however, it is really to achieve its purpose it must show the activities of local branches against a background of the educational movement of our time and thus give them more than local significance. Members of our branches do not necessarily think of their own activities in more than a local context; they may therefore tend to ask, 'What does the general organization do for us?' rather than 'How are we contributing to the general trend of progressive activities?' The transition from the former point of view to the latter is absolutely essential if the Fellowship is to increase its individual membership, establish itself upon a sound financial footing, and create the type of progressive opinion which will make reform in our time both swift and certain. Membership, finance, and educational effectiveness cannot be isolated from one another; we must achieve all three together or fail utterly.

Apart from its service for the branch members the Bulletin must give information of general interest and serve to stimulate the ideas of individual members so that they think of it as something more than an account of the development of the organization of the E.N.E.F. It must become a focal point for the



application of the principles of the E.N.E.F. to the changing educational scene, not in the sense of dogmatic statement but by giving suggestions as to the immediate problems to which members might fruitfully turn their attention. It needs to be invested with a quality of creativeness, to aim at giving inspiration as well as information. It must be circulated with the single aim of creating a clearer consciousness of the bond of unity which binds us in fellowship together and which can so easily be obscured by an over-emphasis on organizational detail or by the mere pressure of ordinary existence. But a real and abiding sense of fellowship can never be produced by intellectual or emotional one-way traffic. Only if members feel actively and personally identified with the contents and form of expression of the Bulletin can our purpose be achieved. We want, therefore, your help in creating much more continuous contact between editor and reader. We shall welcome suggestions, comments, criticisms; cuttings on education from your local press; accounts of interesting work being done by members; items of general interest such as accounts of problems on which help is needed or for which successful solutions have been found. Limitations of space may make necessary drastic editing or some lapse of time before publication, but within our material limitations we could at least begin the common sharing of experience which is the basis of all fellowship. Until further notice, letters from individual members about the Bulletin should be sent to David Jordan; branch secretaries should send branch information to the Organizing Secretary.

The annual election of the Executive Committee resulted in very little change.

#### **The Executive Committee 1944**

The opinion had been expressed that sufficient continuity of Executive membership might not be secured if *all* the national representatives had to seek re-election annually. Events have proved rather the opposite. The number of members voting was larger than last year and the ten retiring Executive members who sought re-election were all returned. The Executive Committee for 1944 is as follows:

Mr. W. B. Curry, Miss C. Fletcher, Mr. David Jordan, Mrs. Beatrice King, Mr. J. A. Lauwerys, Dr. E. Lawrence, Dr. K. Mannheim, Mr. V. Ogilvie, Flt.-Lt. A. K. C. Ottaway, Mr. Salter Davies, Mr. K. B. Webb and Mr. E. W. Woodhead.

The Executive Committee for 1943 was the first to be elected under the democratic constitution devised by Dr. Stead and placed before the membership at the Bedford Conference in 1942. Few bodies are as well served by an Executive Committee as the E.N.E.F. For some of the committee its work involves long journeys and considerable personal expense. Their re-election is a sign of the gratitude of the members for their faithful and efficient service.

On the 29th, 30th, and 31st December, 1943, the N.E.F. collaborated with the

#### **The Christmas Nursery School Conference**

Nursery School Association, the National Froebel Foundation and the Association of Teachers in Training Colleges and Departments of Education, in holding in London an international conference on Education in Czechoslovakia, France and Poland; lectures on the Social and Historical Background were given by Dr. Juraj Slavik (Czechoslovakia), Professor Stanislaw Kot (Poland), and Professor Léon Hermann (France) to the whole conference, which then followed the discussion group method instituted at the Bedford E.N.E.F. Conference in 1942. Three groups met under the chairmanship of Mr. E. W. Woodhead, Mr. David Jordan, and Miss D. Dymes, each group having representatives from each of the three countries to lead discussion and answer questions. Group reports were drawn up and presented to the whole conference, which closed with an address by Dr. W. J. Rose. Mr. J. A. Lauwerys acted as Conference chairman, Miss Clare Soper as Conference secretary, and Mr. Ian Michael was responsible for the final report based on the three group reports read at the final meeting. To these group reporters every reader owes a debt of gratitude; their work was both difficult and responsible and is the mainstay of the record of the Conference's work.

These bare details convey no impression of the importance of the

experience for those who attended. We came away not merely better informed but with a new vision of the possibilities of international co-operation and a stronger determination that the failures of the post-1918 period should not be allowed to repeat themselves. In the midst of the bombs and bitterness of a battle-scarred world we were made to realize the essential similarity of the aspirations of different peoples. How often we came back to the familiar things—the need for equality of opportunity and for the breaking down of class barriers and privileges; the desire for greater freedom and the spread of the spirit of democracy; the need for emancipating religious experience from the limiting effect of sectarian division; the passion for real social justice, for peace in our time, and for international co-operation in building better than our fathers knew.

After such an experience we shall not easily believe in national hatreds, nor be so prone to talk of other nations as though they were 'all of a lump'. For Poland has become identified in our minds with the sparkling good humour of Mr. Drzewieski and the charm and friendliness of Mrs. Stöcker; France with the clarity of thought of Professor Hermann and the tolerance of M. Vangrévelinghe; Czechoslovakia with the quiet dignity of Lt. J. T. and the earnestness of Lt. A. S. We shall no longer think of 'countries' but of places in which our friends are trying to work out our common ideals and purposes. More conferences of this kind and more people attending them to share in such an experience of purposive co-operation might even yet overcome the disruptive forces at work in human society and light a candle which 'by God's grace . . . shall never be put out'.

#### **The Concluding Address—Dr. Rose**

Those who attended the Easter 1943 Conference at Nottingham must have been glad to see that the organizing committee had again asked Dr. Rose to deliver the final address. No one could be more effective in concluding a conference on 'integration', for he has a way of creating a sense of unity and fellowship in his audience. In his talks at both conferences this has been very evident, and no printed word can convey the personal effect



of his wealth of metaphor and simile, of simple and arresting analogy. I can still recall with striking clearness the Great Hall at Nottingham and the kaleidoscope of word pictures by which his effect was built up—not as a result of conscious cleverness, but with the simplicity which is the basis of all true profundity. It was as though his words distilled the essence of human personality, changeful, variegated, like shot silk in the sun, yet displaying in the variety of its interplay the underlying unity and integrity of all human vision and aspiration.

At this Christmas Conference Dr. Rose rendered the same service for us. Many of his listeners jotted down his blackboard-summary of the hierarchy of relationships—*Machine, Organism, Bee-hive or Ant-hill, Herd, Tribe, Nation, Fellowship*. His address appears in full in this issue of *The New Era*, but its magic lay not in logical sequence but in its infinite suggestiveness and the deliberate loose ends which one is left to tie up for oneself. This was teaching at its best!

How suggestive Dr. Rose's categories are when applied to a school.

For every school is a unique social group with its own characteristic arrangements and atmosphere. It may be a machine, the parts having little significance of their own; it may be an organism, which can shed some of its parts and still function somehow; it may be an ant-hill or bee-hive, its members having powers of self-volition, but still existing for the hive and unable to live in independence; or it may approximate to a fellowship, a social group based on the willing co-operation of free agents, whose individual lives find greater significance in communal endeavour. The school cannot be a fellowship in the fullest sense. Its basis is compulsory attendance for the scholars, and possibly the drive of economic compulsion for the staff. But within these limits the best type of school will give expression to the desire for voluntary communal service, will determine its arrangements in a democratic fashion, will build up within itself a communal life based on individual freedom and informed

by democratic ideas. When this happens we have an educational community which is educative in the best sense of the term. But all too often the freedom is too circumscribed, the arrangements too dictatorial, the method of government too autocratic. Half-hearted attempts at democracy are made, but with insufficient faith to generate a new social dynamic, and their failure is then judged a justification of autocracy, which is the last refuge of the democratically incompetent. Men of limited vision may become successful dictators; only those with a strong faith, a sure principle, and an abundant human sympathy can foster and maintain a democratic society within the school walls or outside. Yet if education in and for democracy is to achieve its proper ends, this must be our target; we can rest content with nothing less.

We pay tribute to the *Sunday Observer* for an enlightened and outspoken leading article on *News and Views* 'The Schools' in its issue of 19th December, 1943. It is a welcome

indication that pressure for educational advance does not come only from the Left but that all parties recognize the need for overhauling and extending our education services. Speaking of the need for many more teachers, the article states: 'Nor is it certain that candidates of the right type will come. The only assurance can be the raising of teachers' pay and status at every stage of schooling'. On the public school issue it says: 'The problem of the so-called public school, social not educational at all, remains to be solved. Educationally, they are mostly first-class; socially the problem springs from the fact that they, and they alone give entry to too many of the best jobs. It is only one instance of the snobbery, academic as well as socially, which in other branches of education holds back the prestige, quality and expansion of the "modern" and "technical" varieties of schooling'. Of past Education Bills it says, 'The Act of 1870 was too much of a stop gap; the Act of 1902 was too much of a compromise; the Fisher Act of 1918 was too much of a dead letter'. Its terse summing up of the present position could scarcely be bettered: 'Good schooling for all, equally,

from the cradle to manhood; the play's argument and scenario are excellent, even inspiring. What remains is the performance'.

### N.U.T. Special Committees for High Education

Until 1943 the N.U.T. had a Higher Education Advisory Committee, partly elected and partly nominated by the Executive. This has now been split into two committees: one to be called the Special Committee on Technical Art and other Forms of Further Education; one called the Special Committee on Secondary, Grammar School, Training College and University Education. We doubt the wisdom of the N.U.T. in differentiating in the latter case between 'secondary' and 'grammar school' education. Surely, in the new educational scheme the grammar school is merely a particular type of secondary school and its special mention is either redundant or indicative of a state of mind we had hoped was passing away. We note that some N.U.T. members held this point of view and tabled a motion about it for the N.U.T. Higher Education Conference held in London on 30th and 31st December. We are not yet aware whether the title will be altered, but, in any case, members will be glad to hear that our President, Sir Fred Clarke, and Miss C. Fletcher, an E.N.E.F. member, have been co-opted to serve upon this important committee.

### The N.U.T. and Educational Research and Information

We understand that the following resolutions have been passed by the Executive of the N.U.T. and will be submitted to the Annual Conference at Easter:

#### (1) Research Work

'That qualified research workers be employed to undertake research into educational problems which require the application of research technique. The appointment of the research worker, or workers, to be for a specific period and for a definite piece of work.'

#### (2) Information Bureau

'That an Information Bureau be set up in charge of a Secretary whose function will be to assemble educational publications issued in this country and abroad, and build up a filing system by which information



can be made readily available. Such a Bureau to aim at becoming a centre for the documentation of all matters of interest to teachers and other educationists. Ultimately, the Bureau is intended to assemble such information as (a) schemes of work of various types of schools and colleges; (b) textbooks for various subjects in use in (i) schools and colleges, (ii) dominions, (iii) foreign countries; (c) examples of teaching material and equipment, including maps, diagrams and apparatus used in schools and colleges; (d) accounts of experiments in relation to teaching methods which would include (i) use of mechanical aids, (ii) particulars of films available, (iii) particulars of gramophone records; (e) specimens of various kinds of school work; (f) books, articles, etc., dealing with up-to-date practice and latest discoveries in reference to such subjects as intelligence tests, ability tests, practical application of psychology to the treatment of defective and problem children; (g) periodicals and publications and their documentation so that an up-to-date catalogue could be available at any time; (h) material which had been, or would be, found of interest and assistance at educational exhibitions either on a subject or other basis.'

There is little need for us to say how much we welcome the increased interest of the largest union of teachers in problems which demand research for their solution. Following on the generous grant of the N.U.T. towards the work of the newly-formed Council for Educational Research, the implementation of these resolutions will do much to answer once for all the unjustifiable charge that the organized teachers are primarily interested in salaries and conditions of service. If and when the Educational Bureau is set up, we hope its premises will be large enough to include a room suitably furnished as a meeting place for teachers who come to town. With the decline of clubs, the decay of restaurants, and the frantic scramble for seats in cafés, the problem of meeting friends in London is becoming well nigh insuperable. If the N.U.T. could provide an educational Mecca it would be rendering a service out of

all proportion to the expense involved.

### This Month's Quotation

'We all want the same thing, only our words are in conflict—words, slogans, we have been taught. We are trained on words, they become a substitute for thought. Hatred is propagated through them. Think through them to the reality beyond, and determine if it be good or evil. The only thing worth fighting for is life, a shared fullness of life for all the people. Let us not give our youth to any lesser cause.'

From *Destination Chungking*, Han Suyin (Jonathan Cape).

'I am wondering if the "cheap" conference suggested at the E.N.E.F. Annual Meeting could consider something like "Theory and Practice", i.e. education as training colleges would have their students believe it should be and education as the young teacher finds it. Questions for discussion might be:

What are modern methods?

Can they exist only in the minds of training college idealists?

Are they desirable?

How far can they be practised in the average school?

How can the young teacher ensure that the pull of established practice is not stronger than the ideals with which he or she left the training college?

How far can the young teacher influence the school environment?

Joan Andrews,

Hon. Sec., North West Kent Branch, E.N.E.F.

[The suggestion was an inexpensive conference which might attract and be within the means of young teachers.—Ed.].

**Meeting of Branch Officials**

The opinion has been expressed by many members that it would be both interesting and helpful for the branches to have a means of direct contact with one another, and accordingly two meetings of branch officials have been arranged. The first of these, in London on 15th January, will already have taken place when this Bulletin appears;

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the second is to be at the City Training College, Sheffield, on Saturday, 19th February. On both occasions the agenda is to include discussions on the functions of local branches and how these can best be carried out, and questions of organization, especially in regard to relations between the branches and the English Section.

It is hoped that all branches will be represented, preferably by two or three members, at one of the meetings. Members willing to help in the formation of new branches will also be welcome.

### One Day Conference

On Saturday, 5th February, there will be a One Day Conference in London on the Education Bill. This will be held at the City Literary Institute (Stukeley Street, off Drury Lane). The first session will begin at 10.30 a.m. when Mr. Woodhead will give an opening address and suggest lines for discussion. This will be followed by group discussions during the latter half of the morning and the afternoon, with a final session under the chairmanship of Miss Fletcher at 5.30 p.m. Arrangements will be made for lunch and tea. Admission, 1/6 members, 2/6 non-members (exclusive of meals); further particulars from the Organizing Secretary or from the London and District Branch Secretaries.

### Easter Conference

There is to be a joint conference at Easter organized by the Council for Democratic Reconstruction of Education and the English New Education Fellowship. The subject is 'Education in a Democracy: Purpose and Content'; the date probably Friday, 14th April, to Tuesday, 18th April; it is hoped to find residential accommodation, if possible, in the Midlands. Bookings (fee 5/-) may be made immediately via the Organizing Secretary.

### Summer Conference

There will be a conference at Bangor, N. Wales, towards the end of August. The subject is not yet fixed, and suggestions would be very welcome; one already made being the subject of a letter in this Bulletin.

Hilda Clark

Full particulars of membership and activities of the English New Education Fellowship can be obtained from Mrs. HILDA CLARK, Organizing Secretary, Cleve Cottage, Cringleford, Norwich.



**Education Through Art.** By Herbert Read. (Faber & Faber, London. 25/- net. pp. xxiii + 320.)

Herbert Read's book has been welcomed everywhere as a notable contribution to the educational and social problems of our time. I agree with this verdict and with the main thesis of the book. Mr. Read's simplicity of feeling about education, his profound understanding of the function of art in human life and development are deeply satisfying.

His main thesis is simply Plato's—that art should be the basis of education. 'The general purpose of education is to foster the growth of what is individual in each human being, at the same time harmonizing the individuality thus educed with the organic unity of the social group to which the individual belongs. . . . In this process aesthetic education is fundamental. . . .'

In defining art, Mr. Read finds two main principles at work: 'a *principle of form* derived . . . from the organic world, and the universal objective aspect of all works of art; and a *principle of origination*, peculiar to the mind of man, impelling him to create and to appreciate symbols, phantasies, myths, which take on a universally valid objective existence only in virtue of the principle of form'. He holds that life itself 'in its most secret and essential sources is aesthetic—that it only is in virtue of the embodiment of energy in a form which is not merely material but aesthetic'. 'Art is the representation, science the explanation—of the same reality'.

In my view the most illuminating chapter is that on 'The Art of Children'. No one could read this without having his understanding of the mind and development of children enormously quickened and deepened. Mr. Read's appreciation of the function of art in the life of the child and of the meaning of its various phases during the child's development is more penetrating and comprehensive than that of any other writer whom I know.

In later chapters Mr. Read applies the insight thus gained to the educational process and shows us what the relation of teacher and pupil and the organized purpose of education could be, if this insight were general.

Everyone must feel deeply grateful for so wise and so stimulating a book. To criticize it might appear ungracious. It is, however, *because* the value of Mr. Read's contribution is so great that one cannot help wishing that the theoretical arguments by which he seeks to support and explicate his thesis were more completely satisfactory.

I do not feel that Mr. Read has fully assimilated the vast body of psycho-

logical data and doctrine which he adduces. He draws upon various directions of research: (a) the typology of Kraetschmer, Jaensch, Jung, etc.; (b) the Gestalt school; (c) Freud's work on the unconscious; and (d) some recent contributors having a selective bias towards certain elements of human nature—such as Fromm and Burrow. Although Mr. Read goes deeply into each of these schools of psychological research, he does not effectively relate them to each other. The result is something of a patchwork, with not enough organic integration of the parts of the argument.

A greater difficulty for me, however, is that I do not feel the approach of the typologists to the problems of the human mind to be fruitful. I never have been able to sympathize with the attempt to pigeonhole human personalities into *types*. My own sense of underlying *process* in the human mind, my awareness of individuals, are both too strong. Moreover, my experience of the changes which character and personality may undergo in the work of psycho-analysis is too vivid. In analytic work one becomes so aware of the *defensive* function of the emphasis laid on particular aspects of personality; e.g. the extent to which the so-called 'extravert' or 'introvert' tendencies may be over-emphasized, the way in which sensation may be over-accentuated, or the value of 'abstract' forms and qualities be underscored, all as defences against acute emotional conflicts. Once one has come to appreciate the dynamic interplay of these various functions, one cannot but find arid and profitless any pigeonholing of the living forces of the mind into fixed *types*.

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And in fact the typologists constantly warn us that their 'types' are never found pure. Why not, then, express the facts in terms of *process* and tendency?

To classify the products of the mind—such as the wonderful series of pictures with which this book is so generously illustrated—seems more legitimate, since here process and tendency have become crystallised into static form.

My major criticism of Mr. Read, however, is that he (together with some of the authors he quotes in his chapter on 'The Aesthetic Basis of Discipline and Morality') bases far too much of his educational theory on a strong *denial* of some of the fundamental facts of human nature—and of Nature herself. In developing his view that 'the formative principle discernible in the evolution of the universe itself' is aesthetic, Mr. Read deliberately says: 'We must put on one side what I call the accidental forms of nature—rocks thrown up in volcanic eruptions, trees blasted by lightning . . . We are then left with such forms as all unimpeded growth assumes. . . . In the same way, he deliberately puts out of his sight certain fundamental qualities of human nature, the destructive tendencies of hate and consequent feelings of guilt. He insists that 'the concepts of "good" and "bad" are arbitrary', and 'are induced into the mind of the child either unconsciously by the process of "introjection" or consciously by a system of rewards and punishments'. He then argues that children brought up without any explicit rewards and punishments, admonitions and rebukes, would develop an aesthetic sense of 'rightness' and a social sense of one-ness with other people which would dissolve away our social and political problems.

Now this seems to me (in this extreme form) a quite untenable position, both logically and factually. Volcanoes, lightnings, broken rocks, are as much a part of Nature as the structure of a bird's wing or the mathematical purity of a crystal. And the problem of good and evil is innate in human psychic constitution. It is true that the concepts of 'good' and 'bad' do not spring from logical reasoning. No: they spring from *feeling* and imagination, from inherent emotional conflict. 'Introjection' is a *natural* and a *formative* process in human beings. From whence did all these faulty systems of education first arise? How did notions of good and evil first come to the human race? Who were the first 'bad' parents and how could they possibly come to be, if there were *nothing* but inherent aesthetic 'rightness' in the fundamental springs of human nature? The human tragedy is surely the *awareness* of the reality of hate and love, of life and death. Eve sought wisdom and had to accept for herself and Adam the



suffering that arose from eating of the tree of *knowledge* of good and evil. It is the human (or divine?) gift of imagination, the *awareness* of feelings and impulses and the anticipation of the consequences of acts which are the ultimate source of human pain and of human greatness in art and social life. Against this personal awareness and the suffering it brings, the child's symptoms and difficulties of behaviour are directed. To avoid this suffering in adult life we create our enemies and seek to destroy them in warfare.

Simple empirical observation shows that guilt develops even in children who have had the most gentle and humane upbringing (although far less acutely than in the severely trained). In *The Moral Judgement of the Child*, Piaget himself offers evidence of this, without realizing its full implications. He quotes the acute anxiety aroused in his own little girl of under two years by accidental destructiveness, anxiety which the parents could not allay. I myself have had experience of analysing more than one person who had been brought up without admonishment or punishment, by the gentlest and kindest of parents, and in whom, behind the surface of excellent social adaptation and agreeable personality, there lay nevertheless depths of anxiety and guilt arising from inherent emotional conflict.

I scarcely need to add that I am none the less in full agreement with Mr. Read's (and Piaget's) ideal of education: the value of aesthetic expression and of the substitution of co-operative social experience for authoritarian systems, the need to develop a warmer and closer awareness of others in social life. It is *because* the child has to struggle with an inner world in which hate is as real as love

that he needs the help of an outer experience in which love is secure. It is because he dreads and needs to master an inner chaos of powerful but un-understood feelings and forces that he seeks to create order and stability in his earliest art forms. Mr. Read says: 'The child is seeking to escape from the vividness of his eidetic images, from an omnipresent realism. He wants to create something relatively fixed and personal, an escape from reality, something which is his own and not an uncalled image. He therefore creates a visual symbol, a cipher in this language of line which will express his feelings, communicate its clarity to others, fix it in the aesthetic world of appearances'. But he is *also* seeking to escape from the pressure of chaotic feelings, from an *inner* reality, from his dread of the destructive forces in himself, and therefore fashions symbols which express his hope of creating and preserving life and goodness and beauty in himself and in others.

Susan Isaacs

### Our Birmingham ; Changing Britain. Cadbury Bros. (University of London Press. 1/- each).

These two little books are excellent. Every teacher of history, of geography and of science should get them—and quickly, because it is unlikely they will be long available. At a shilling they are too attractive a bargain in days of paper shortage.

Briefly described, they tell the story of Britain between 1750 and 1943 by text, sketches, photographs, maps and pictorial statements—the story, that is, of the impact of the new discoveries and techniques on the face of our land and on the traditional ways of life. More ; they present in vivid manner the problem which our society must solve or die—how to make this a land truly fit for human beings to live in.

In a word, these two books present Units of Work such as many educationists have long recommended as

peculiarly suitable for children between the ages of 12 and 15. We must be grateful to Cadbury Bros. and to the publishers for making them available. School children whose teachers decide to build courses around them will be truly fortunate.

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J. A. L.

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## Visual Communication

Joseph Lauwerys

Reader in Education in the Institute of Education

FELLOWSHIP between human beings is made possible by language and other means of communication; how else could qualities and values become common to groups? Furthermore, as John Dewey puts it: 'what nutrition and reproduction are to physiological life, education is to social life.' That is, by sharing its experiences through a process of education, society transmits its ways to the young and thus perpetuates itself. Education depends upon communication.

A corollary to this proposition is that the process of education will of necessity change or tend to change when modes of communication change. For example, if new fields of activity or techniques are discovered or invented, the young will be taught new things in new ways. Obviously, the inventions of writing, of paper, of ink brought about changes in the school (although even now in some Mahomedan countries the young continue to learn verses from the Koran by hearing them recited, while in our Universities somewhat similar methods are still in vogue). The invention of blackboard and chalk, too, made possible the adoption of new methods of teaching and the introduction of new subjects which could not have been dealt with in schools if teachers had had to depend, like the Greeks, upon figures drawn in sand. The discovery of printing and of easy methods of duplicating handwriting (Roneo, etc.) led to the introduction of text-books and to the establishment of a vast and comprehensive system of examinations.

It must not be supposed that teachers as a body welcome such new devices. For instance, many of them still prefer to dictate notes rather than to use a duplicating machine. For my part, I like to think of a medieval teacher refusing to use new-fangled gadgets like paper or pen or blackboard. I can so well imagine the arguments he would use: such things, he would say, are merely devices for whiling away time; they are suitable for lazy and stupid children; they have no contribution to make to true education; they will in no way affect the teaching of his own subject; etc., etc. After all, every one of us has heard similar views when discussing the use of visual aids.

During the last hundred and fifty years a great number of new inventions have revolutionized the techniques of communication: telegraph, telephone, radio; cheap printing, linotype, colour printing; photography, cinematography, and many others. These new inventions fall into two groups: those which, like the telephone and the photograph, make it possible for individuals to communicate over great distances and those which, like the radio and the cinema, make it possible to communicate simultaneously with large numbers of persons. Both groups are transforming the social arts, including the art of government. On the whole, the former tend, amongst other things, towards centralization of power, as when an ambassador becomes a mere agent of his government. The second could be used, if we wished, to increase popular enlightenment and a demo-

cratic sharing of power, but have been used chiefly for the opposite purpose. Cheap printing has been used by adventurers in eager pursuit of power (newspapers) and by purveyors of dope for those who wish to escape from the worries and anxieties of a life increasingly insecure and disorganized (cheap magazines and novels). Radio is used in the U.S.A. chiefly as an advertising medium by the great industrial monopolies, while in Great Britain it has been largely kept tame and rendered socially innocuous.

So far these new discoveries have been little used in the schools. With a few notable and most praiseworthy exceptions, teachers have been content merely to put forward convincing reasons (*i.e.* convincing to themselves) for going on as before. In large measure, chalk, talk and dull books continue to dominate the classroom.

Consider the question of Visual Education, discussed in Otto Neurath's article. We can now reproduce photographs, drawings, graphs, isotype, etc., cheaply, in colour or monochrome, either on paper, cardboard, celluloid, or cellulose acetate. We can project them optically (lantern or cinema projector), or we can hang them on the walls of classrooms or we can put them in books. Yet so far the use of these powerful new media of communication is curiously restricted. In text-books one finds a few casually chosen pictures, usually inferior to those included 280 years ago by Comenius in his *Orbis Sensualis Pictus*. On the walls of geography rooms one sees



oddly coloured maps—why green and brown? why the Mercator projections? Compare what is done in the school with what is done in the world of industry and commerce. Think of the vast sums spent on poster advertising, window dressing, production of entertainment films, and so on. It seems that the new media are widely and vigorously used when real business is being done, when money is to be earned, when the keeping of jobs depends on up-to-dateness. But when the business in hand is merely the well-being of mankind, tradition rules, and custom is king—‘custom, that plague of the wise and that idol of fools’.

The disturbing aspect of this unwillingness to adopt more freely the new media is that so long as we use only the older, familiar, tools—the book, the blackboard, etc.—we shall naturally be inclined to think of conventional curricula and of syllabuses not unlike those now in use. This is not strange: we teach in schools things which we can teach with the instruments available. To teach new subjects in new ways we need new instruments. When natural science was introduced, laboratories had to be

built and experimental demonstrations shown. Chalk and talk were found insufficient. So too we now know we should widen the scope of our science teaching and pay attention to the social relations and effects of science. How is this to be done without free and constant use of all visual media? Again, we realize that we ought to be paying much more attention than we are to the Social Studies, but how is so complicated and difficult a subject-area to be made attractive and meaningful? Otto Neurath has shown how visualization provides a solution. His museum of the Social Sciences in Vienna drew thousands to stare and learn. The film he made with Paul Rotha, *World of Plenty*, demonstrated that the interests of the common man in world problems was more serious and sustained than Hollywood or Elstree were prepared to believe. And in his *Modern Man in the Making* he gave brilliant examples of the ways in which quantitative and more exact thinking about social and historical developments could be encouraged at an elementary but not superficial level.

The point is that, quite often, new inventions cause social disintegra-

tion and create problems—at first. But then later, as we learn to use them more wisely and constructively, they help social and individual integration and serve to raise the level of human happiness and dignity.

Of course, we do not yet know just what changes in the content and method of teaching will come about as a result of the widespread adoption of Visual Education. Much analysis, exploration and research remains to be done, both by the producers and designers of visual material and by teachers in schools. The important thing is that we should get on with this research energetically and purposefully. And that we should use the visual material already available without waiting for the researches to be completed, for it is only by using them that we can learn their powers and their limitations.

Human societies have always been of two kinds, those which welcome and apply new knowledge and new inventions and those which reject and refuse to use them. And this is also true of educators. In which direction are we to set our faces? Do we wish to explore new possibilities or shall we cling obstinately to the old ways?

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# Visual Aids and Arguing

Otto Neurath

## The Argumentative Approach to Education

EDUCATION deals with a very rich pattern of habits. An increasing part in it is assigned to the development of ability in argumentation and reasoning. But a teaching technique which may succeed in stimulating observation and classroom discussion, may at the same time fail to induce the pupil to devote time and energy to argumentative meditation.

The teaching of physics and biology, in spite of the fact that these subjects are based on an extensive network of argument, does not seem to be necessarily more conducive to such habits of meditation than are classical and literary studies. The majority of pupils accept the well assembled pattern of physical and biological arguments. Even the carrying out of traditional experiments usually amounts to the copying of something. Nor does the study of social structures call for much individual activity. Of course, in sciences, students and research workers may learn to weigh 'positive' and 'negative' instances before accepting statements. They may try out new procedures. But even that does not always lead to a comprehensive habit of meditation. From the point of view of personal meditative activity, classical subjects, provided they are not taught in a doctrinaire way, may be useful. A certain flexibility in argument may develop in the pupil as he analyses turns of expression and literature. For one thing, in translation he learns that more than one version is possible, and that a personal choice must be made; for another, the door is opened to a wide realm of human problems. The pupil becomes personally acquainted, more or less, with customs and opinions foreign to him. But, even so, he does not by this means learn how to meditate on physical, biological or social correlations.

For the purposes of education it is of interest to discover what technique will evoke and develop the habit of argumentative meditation, based on intellectual sincerity

and a scientific integrity of analysis and comparison. A person's whole behaviour in life may be closely connected with his ability to devote himself to scientific meditation, whatever subject may be under discussion, whether physics, technology, biology or history. Such a habit can counterbalance the hurry and hastiness of daily life, without reducing the impetus to action. There are laymen who have this attitude in their private lives, and there are scholars who lack it.

To look—and look again—at carefully selected pictures may bring about such a mood of restful argumentative activity. Visual Education, conveying information together with arguments, may scotch the tendency to regard verbal statements as immutable, since the same visual presentation may be 'translated' into sentences in different ways. This is an important point. The statement of a scientific result, particularly a formula, is intentionally made as clear-cut as possible. That is precisely its advantage from another point of view. But, from an educational point of view, there is a standing danger of enslavement by verbal formulations, which through their rigidity may actually hamper meditative reasoning.

The term 'Visual Education' will here be used to denote any application of visual aids to factual arguments. Visual Education in its full scope and significance has never been thoroughly analysed by writers on education. It has therefore to be built up from scratch. Visual 'bricks' lie ready to hand all over the world—and by no means only in the many fine and educationally valuable pictures which have been created throughout the centuries.

Since a comprehensive view of visual education in all its potentialities forms the basis of Isotypes, it is from this field that examples will be taken in the present article.

### Visual Education Stimulates Argument

There are children who like to collect maps and to adventure along unknown valleys and cross the seven seas. In their analysis

and their imaginary activities they resemble real explorers. They feel as much at ease when looking at their maps as other people do when looking at landscapes or pictures. No strange expressions crop up there as they sometimes do in books.

One result which Visual Education tries to establish is a map-like intellectual environment, which acquaints people with a variety of subjects in a way that carries on the tradition of certain wall paintings and stained glass pictures. Visual Education tries to create a kind of visual language with which to make charts and models, at rest or in motion.

Through a careful *montage* of self-explanatory symbols and a few captions one can make charts which enable the person who looks at them to take in factual information in whatever field of knowledge one wants to stimulate argument, whether in physics, technology, biology, the social sciences, history, languages or whatever it may be. Take a chart dealing with mortality (*cf.* Isotype chart I). At first sight it seems to suggest that one should start at the top left-hand corner and finish at the bottom right-hand corner. But the impressive long rows of deaths may be what first attracts the attention and suggests the question: What is happening here? There are skull and helmet symbols with their gloomy story. Evidently the plague was a more deadly scourge in the past than even terrible wars are to-day. The important thing is that the 'reader' may start questioning and arguing wherever he likes. The reader of a book has a fixed line of march. Only a very practised one can at once get a synoptic view of the contents of a paper or book. The average reader has to start at the first line and plough right through the work. If he comes upon a stumbling block, an unfamiliar word, for instance, he may lose his way and his interest.

In a two-dimensional picture several rows of items which are connected with one another can be 'seen' simultaneously, whereas the one-dimensional text requires the reader to bear in mind what he has



read and to make for himself the connections between dispersed single statements. On the other hand, it has to be frankly recognized that not all correlations can be suitably and adequately presented in visual form. In writing and presenting formulae in physics, for instance, one has frequently to deal with very complicated correlations which cannot be properly presented in this way. Only certain relatively simple correlations can be more impressively and concisely presented in visual form. The human powers of visualization (not only of imagining pictures but also of drawing them on a blackboard or on paper) are comparatively poor, and this seems to be one of the reasons why the ancient method of picture-writing was soon superseded by the writing technique which modern man uses to-day.

### Language Pictures

Not only children and certain illiterate tribes, but also highly civilized groups like the ancient Egyptians, put into their drawings what they 'know' about horses and houses and not only what they 'see' in looking at them. Animals are drawn with their skeleton visible under the skin, like X-ray photographs, or shoes with toes under the leather. One may call these pictures which tell a story 'language pictures'. A language picture may be regarded as a complex composed of different items in a conventional way. Snapshots may sometimes, though not very often, form parts of the *montage* of a language picture. A wall picture, for instance, may use single photographs of men, cattle, etc., and repeat them, as sometimes an Egyptian wall painting repeats men, cattle, etc. This implies the convention that the repeated photographs stand for the words 'men', 'cattle', etc., and do not represent certain men seen on a certain day from a certain angle. Most language pictures omit the incidentals of a snapshot photograph and at the same time include details which never appear in a snapshot. Maps are one kind of language picture. Symbols appear on them for 'airport', 'first-aid station' and so on, to which there may be nothing corresponding in a simple aerial photograph.

A language picture of a house may make use of a parallel projection, in which all lengths are

drawn in proportion to the lengths discovered by measuring the house. The house can be treated as if it were transparent and all its four corners and sides shown simultaneously. A language picture is not interested in so-called 'right perspective' or 'proper shades and highlights'. Whereas snapshots convey a kind of personal impression, a language picture tries to convey some 'interpersonal' information, in the same way that scientific diagrams do.

It is of great educational importance to acquaint people with the richness of momentary impressions and to teach them to discover for themselves in snapshots the points which they think essential for an argument. Nevertheless, snapshots do not present the main points necessary for a network of arguments. As a rule, some verbal education is necessary to prepare the ground for the argument—to tell what it is about, in short. Visual education can to a considerable extent present the points for a chain of argument by its intentionally schematized language pictures.

### Isotype as an International Visual Language

To make a language picture one needs certain conventions, dealing both with single symbols and with backgrounds. Isotype offers the whole realm of education a consistent language, 'Isotype Vocabulary', and certain rules for combining these conventional symbols, 'Isotype Grammar'. The making of a language picture by means of a visual vocabulary and a visual grammar cannot be done automatically. The 'visualization' of scientifically given material has to be based on selection with a view to the particular educational purpose. This transforming of scientific material into charts is called 'transformation'.

Whereas, on the one hand, the single 'Isotypes' or Isotype charts should look as different as possible, to avoid confusion in the memory, they should, on the other hand, fit together as elements of one visual whole. This demands that they must all be made up in the same 'Isotype style'.

Incidentally, in referring to Isotype as an international visual language, one should not overlook the fact that an 'Isotype montage'

is usually made up of Isotype symbols together with some words. Isotypes designed for illiterates could be made without any printed words, but they would need short verbal explanations by speakers, gramophone records or wireless.

Isotypes have been used in various ways: in charts and models for exhibition; as illustrations of a printed text; but also as forming whole chapters of a book, in such a way that the text-chapters cannot be understood without the 'Isotype-chapters.' (Cf. Otto Neurath: *Modern Man in the Making*. A. Knopf, New York. Secker & Warburg, London, as an example of a Picture-Text-Style book.<sup>1</sup>)

### Reading an Isotype Chart

When one looks at an Isotype chart (cf. chart 2) one realizes how even the arrangement, with its 'above' and 'below', plays a part. The masses of the people appear at the bottom of the chart, while the American President, the British Cabinet and the British Crown appear at the top. Lines between the various Isotype symbols indicate certain correlations of different kinds. To indicate these further differences would destroy the impressiveness of the chart and make it too complicated. These are the limitations of any kind of visualization. If detailed and complicated descriptions are wanted, then a verbal approach is preferable.

In making the transformation of this chart, the stress was laid as far as possible on the point that the British nation elects the House of Commons and decides in this way, to a certain extent, who shall

<sup>1</sup> The educational pattern of Isotype started in 1923, when a Museum of Housing and Town Planning was founded in Vienna to introduce the man in the street to the problems of modern housing. This was later expanded into a Museum of Social Science, with a research centre, a studio and office for preparing exhibitions and book illustrations and for building up international relations connected with an experimental school and other institutions. The work was continued in Holland by the International Foundation for Visual Education and is now being carried on by the Isotype Institute at Oxford. The transformation procedures were worked out particularly by M. L. Neurath together with other collaborators. G. Arntz evolved the main lines of the graphic characteristics of Isotype with the assistance of designers from various countries, among them E. Bernath (Switzerland), P. Alma (Holland) and A. Tschinkel (Czechoslovakia). The latest improvements in the making of Isotypes have been made in collaboration with a team of British designers, K. R. James, B. R. Young and D. L. Young.

The name 'Isotype' stands for International System of Typographic Picture Education. Regarded as a Greek word, it may be translated as 'always using the same types'.



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govern the country. In the United States the nation has to elect the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives, who, with the Supreme Court, act as independent powers; and to this there is no analogy in the British Constitution. The graphical arrangement of House of Commons, Cabinet and Prime Minister tries to stress the difference between the British pattern and that of the United States, where the helpers who make up the President's 'staff' are in no way connected with the House of Representatives or the Senate.

Anyone who looks at the chart can ask questions or can imagine some of the main features of the two constitutions, but he will not get much more from the chart than he would from a map if he were trying to imagine the fulness of a certain landscape. The conventions of language pictures are for the most part international. Nevertheless, people who have already looked at some Isotypes are quicker in understanding further Isotypes than people who have never seen one before. This is the reason why the mixing up of language pictures of different sorts has its disadvan-

tages. It may be part of education to acquaint pupils with different types of technological blue-prints, but for starting any coherent plan of information it is best to employ charts based on the same type of visual language.

All Isotype charts (*e.g.* those used in the 'America and Britain' series, edited by Professor Sargant Florence and published by Harrap) belong, as it were, to the same visual language. The reader knows what to expect. The Isotype style implies that one will be able to find new correlations between well characterized items. One is not going to be faced with visual puzzles, as which play such an essentially educational part in Hogarth's pictures.

An Isotype montage suggests activity. More than that, without activity on one's own part, one cannot 'read' an Isotype chart. One cannot learn its contents off by heart and recite them parrotlike, as one might learn a poem. Isotype in this way resembles to some extent Chinese writing.

All Isotype uses colours symbolically. But their use also makes charts more attractive and they please the eye as rhyme pleases the

reader of poetry. An Isotype chart may look attractive before one starts reading it, whereas one can hardly judge whether a printed chapter will taste nice without swallowing the whole dish.

### Visual Aids, Impressive and Informative

Visual aids cannot deal properly with complicated correlations, whereas writing and formulae can. Even by means of Isotype one can hardly present a general statement such as 'all mammals have warm red blood'. It is difficult to indicate the animal kingdom by presenting different specimens as representative of all the species together. Only certain simple correlations permit of simple presentation on a two-dimensional paper or black-board. But within these limitations the impressiveness of visual aids gives the teacher a wide range of opportunities.

The traditional advertising technique, sometimes even used by educationists, tries to create attractive pictures, but often fails to link the attractiveness with the intended information. A smiling glamour girl proclaims the fuel situation from a poster on the wall. The



passer-by remembers the girl's face but does not remember the fuel situation. According to the Isotype technique an effort would be made to depict the subject in such a way that the passer-by felt attracted, but at the same time was informed directly by the chart about the fuel situation.

The problem is to accentuate certain details impressively enough, without distorting the simple statements. To make the transformation and the design impressive is a major aim in all Isotype studies. There is only one sort of arguing, and visualization of the steps of an argument will not alter the argument. 'Visual argument' only means that some statements are presented visually and not verbally. But the difference in impressiveness between a visual argument and one presented in words may be great. Something which is hardly noticed in reading may be instantly perceived when one looks at an Isotype chart. The figures 999 and 333 look much the same, but nine symbols in one row and three in another, or bars of different lengths, look very different. The question of impressiveness arises both when we decide whether to apply visual aids at all and when we choose between different ways of presentation.

We might want to show that the rural population (each 'O' representing 10 per cent. of the population) is decreasing and the urban population (each 'X' representing 10 per cent. of the population) is increasing. Sometimes it may be sufficient to present this in the following way:

1920 O O O O O O O O X X  
1930 O O O O O O O O X X X  
1940 O O O O O O O X X X X  
But, if the point we want to stress is the change, then we may use an 'axis' and put it like this:

1920 O O O O O O O O X X  
1930 O O O O O O O O X X X  
1940 O O O O O O X X X X

The two presentations are equivalent numerically, but not visually. The first one presents two vertical lines at the ends of an oblong, and one slope—by no means obvious—inside the oblong. The second presents two slopes, one indicating increase and the other decrease, and only one vertical line remains, inside the oblong and less obvious. The arrangement may be made more impressive by the shapes and colours of the symbols used. There

are no general rules when and how to create greater impressiveness. 'Pedagogical tact' must play its part here.

Although Isotype-making is, like map-making, a task for specialists, it would none the less be useful to teach the making of simple Isotypes as we teach the making of simple maps. But it is more important to learn how to use Isotype charts, just as we have to learn how to use maps properly.

Small children are often very ingenious in inventing new symbols and arranging them impressively, but this ability to make language pictures usually vanishes as they grow up. For this reason, in some experimental schools on the continent where the Isotype technique was used, the pupils did not draw the symbols themselves but used printed ones, which they had to arrange. Such experience of assembling the elements for oneself may lead to a more profitable use of Isotype charts, supporting meditation.

### Where is the Argument?

Let us imagine that in a well-arranged Isotype museum or Isotype lecture, the Isotype material, together with snapshots, models, filmshots, appears, accompanied by some captions or verbal explanations. The person who looks at it should be induced to ask the question: where is the argument?

Traditional visual material, often marvellously presented, does not always reckon with this essential point. The life and habits of an animal may be shown in a film, but if we ask why certain features were presented, the answer is frequently quite inadequate. It may merely be that the photographer saw the chance of a good or amusing shot. This may be excellent entertainment, but—where is the argument? The particular animal's activities might have been compared with those of another animal. We might have learnt how the animal acquired such a high degree of skill in providing for itself.

Sometimes a verbal explanation will put forward a point which the photographs or the film do not stress, but that does not affect the impressiveness of the visual material. Often people present rows of puppets without sufficiently stressing the argument. The point is, not to replace dull statistics by

dull bar graphs or dull rows of puppets, but to bring out an argument by making certain correlations particularly impressive. This implies that picture making depends on an educationally executed transformation.

Let us assume that we want to discuss a certain aspect of the population question in a simple way (see Isotype Chart 3). Many people, accustomed to the 'age pyramid' presented by a triangle in 1 A (which resembles the age distribution in Great Britain about 1900), would consider 2 A (which resembles the age distribution about 1940) 'unbalanced'—a 'topheavy' structure. They might say that more children are needed because the 'burden' of old age at the top becomes too heavy.

Let us look at 3 A. An even more topheavy structure, these people would say. But what does it visualize? If the same number of children were born every year, sufficient to replace the parents, and if every child reached the age of 80—certainly a wish-dream of most people—then this age distribution would remain permanent; and if, later on, public health improved and prolonged everyone's life, the topheaviness would increase and, instead of the triangle of 1900, we should get a rectangle with an ever-increasing top.

How would this affect the 'burden' composed of the young and the old, assuming for the sake of simplification a working age of 20 to 60? See 1 B, 2 B, 3 B. Manifestly the 'burden' would increase with the improvement of public health. People would have to use more and more of the increase in technical efficiency to create a happy old age—which would be in harmony with the wishes of many.

When the problem is visualized in this way, we see at once how inadequate are many remarks found in 'letters to the editor' and in everyday conversation and propaganda. No mathematical training is needed to grasp the point—only some meditative visual argument.

What people may eventually decide to do, no Isotype can foretell. But it can indicate the relevant arguments.

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information may even be needed within a meditative argument. A tutorial class may be discussing some problem, with or without visual material. A point arises where additional information is wanted. To read a chapter from a book would hold up and disturb the class. Some well-selected charts, on the other hand, might convey the required information quickly and without breaking the thread of restful meditation.

For quick information, on health education, for instance, or some new institutions and inventions, charts have many advantages. The passer-by can adapt himself to them at once. He can look at one chart longer than another. If something is still obscure, he can look back. Films have the disadvantage that they do not give the spectator time to adapt himself. People vary in the speed with which they grasp a subject, but the film goes on at the same speed, whoever is looking at the screen. Nobody can turn back the leaves of the motion picture book. Nevertheless, film presentation has the great advantage that masses of people assemble in the cinema in a

certain mood and can be reached in a simple way.

In the cinema atmosphere it seems advisable to use snapshots as well as films, not only as a means of conveying information about the content of the pictures, but also as an element in a 'language montage'. In the Rotha film *World of Plenty* snapshots and animated Isotype diagrams appear together. One of the shots shows a field of ripe wheat swaying in the morning breeze. The purpose of the photograph is not to invite people to look at the details of the wheatfields. It is a visual equivalent to the statement: 'What a marvellous world! Wheatfields everywhere waiting for the sickle, ready for people who need food'. Then a snapshot showing the destruction of coffee—not to interest people in the technicalities of the procedure, but to say: '... and human beings intentionally destroy what they have produced'.

The argument in *World of Plenty* is based on 'Language Snapshots' and 'Language Isotypes', forming a 'visual montage' of language elements, to which voices are added. The man in the street is thus given

the outline of a social argument, quickly and within the cinema atmosphere.

Because such a film, put into a cinema programme, appears attractive, impressive and informative, it is not to be assumed that the situation would be the same in a schoolroom. There, no doubt, lantern slides or other visual aids might sometimes serve the purpose better. To convey information quickly is important as part of school education, but the need is not so great there as in a cinema, where people have come primarily for entertainment and where film-feet are reckoned in terms of money.

### Technical Efficiency and Educational Efficacy

The marvels of the film and of modern photography lead many people to regard these means as particularly suitable and efficacious for educational purposes. This needs careful analysis. In the first place, schools which have used certain types of visual aid over a considerable period should be examined. Even an examination carried out over a long period would, of course, only deal with the



films or charts or models used—not with the technique as a whole—because the difference between the various aids are as great as those between various novels, plays or songs.

The highly developed technique of modern photography has the advantage that people of moderate skill can now take and collect useful snapshots. One can get masses of detailed material. On the other hand, for the purposes of argumentative meditation a careful drawing may present combinations of impressiveness which are not always possible in a photograph. A good woodcut may show a bird with all its feathers cut in detail and every significant line dark and precise. The branch on which the bird sits can, as part of its environment, be more lightly toned while leaving every essential detail clear. Finally, the background of even lighter grey can indicate, for instance, that the bird lives on an island. Not even a first-class photograph can always combine all this information, with all these shades so graded as to make a certain impression in connection with the argument. The potentialities of colour photography and other techniques are not, of course, to be underrated when what is wanted is an immediate impression with all its details. Technical progress as such, however, is not the point to be stressed.

When we look at a sequence of stills, showing a running horse or the splashing of a drop of water, we can compare the various stages of motion. The best of films, even a slow one, will not allow us to compare the various stages side by side. It can only connect them. Educationally it is often interesting to turn motion into rest, and complicated motion into simpler motion. This is something that the educational film can do—in addition to its recognized superiority for presenting documents of the unfamiliar, such as strange vegetation, strange lands and customs.

Similarly, a planisphere should not be regarded as merely a cheap substitute for a globe, but as an educational device with advantages of its own. If one showed the distribution of population on a globe, one could not compare the density of Europe, India and the U.S.A. simultaneously, for the simple reason that one can only see one side of a globe at a time.

On a planisphere the comparison is easily made.

There are educationists who are afraid of innovations as such, and there are others who flaunt the banner of technical progress much too often and too willingly. There is a Chinese story whose moral can be applied here. A sage one day saw a gardener carrying water in a bucket from the stream. He asked the gardener: 'Why do you not use a machine which would irrigate a wider area in a day with much less trouble?' The gardener answered, 'I know the water-sweep of which you are thinking very well. But my teacher told me that tricky implements lead men to tricky dealings, and men who are tricky in their dealings grow tricky in their whole attitude, and this makes one restless and irritable and prevents one from acquiring that meditative mood which we need so much. It is not that I do not know about these inventions, but that I hesitate to use them.'

Without taking the story too literally, we may allow it to remind us that human beings can decide to what extent they will use new inventions, by looking at their whole way of life and at the wide and many-sided structure of education.

#### Visual Aids and Verbal Education

A serious application of visual aids to education involves a certain amount of change and adaptation in verbal education, whether one thinks of textbooks, of lessons, of wireless talks, of gramophone records or of sound films. There are no general rules which can tell us how to combine visual aids with verbal education, just as there are none which can tell us how to compose songs and how to use them. But one can analyse certain features of such a combined educational technique.

The classroom allows teachers and pupils to use visual material—snapshots and Isotypes, maps and stuffed animals, geometrical models and scientific apparatus—whenever they like. Films and lantern slides may occasionally come into the framework. Wireless lessons in school and at home have the advantage that the pupil can look at charts as he listens and adapt himself to the chart as the lesson progresses. Sound-film lessons could be added if it seemed useful and practicable.

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1913 



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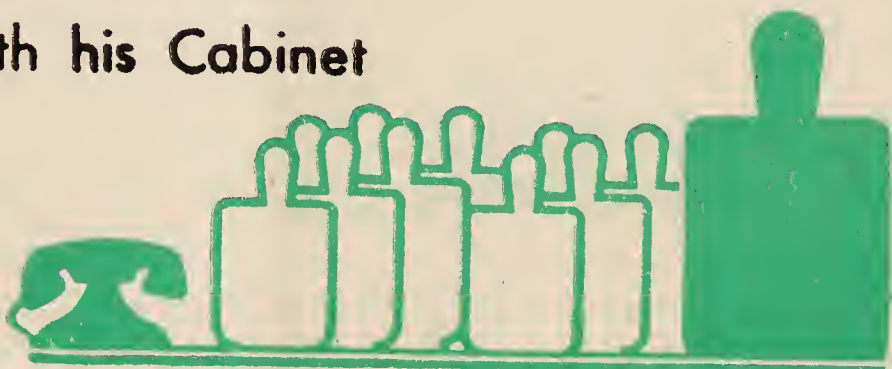
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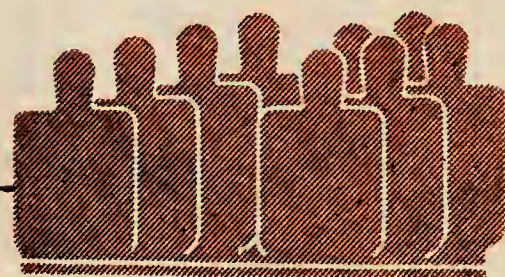
# Presidential Government

## United States

President with his Cabinet



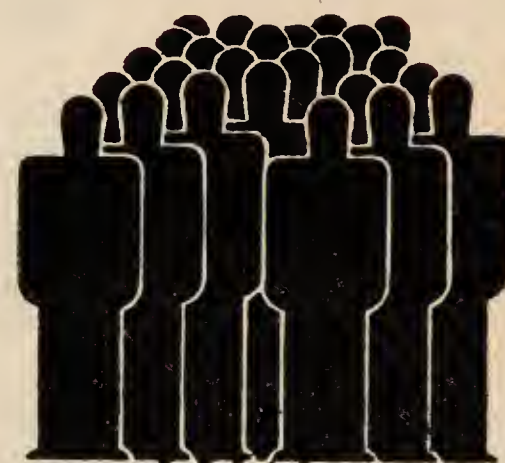
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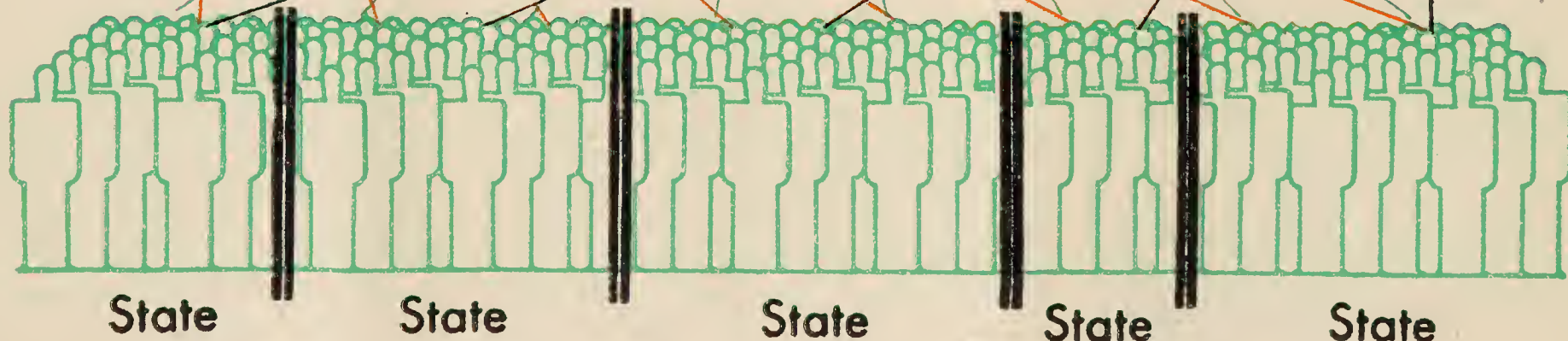
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Senate



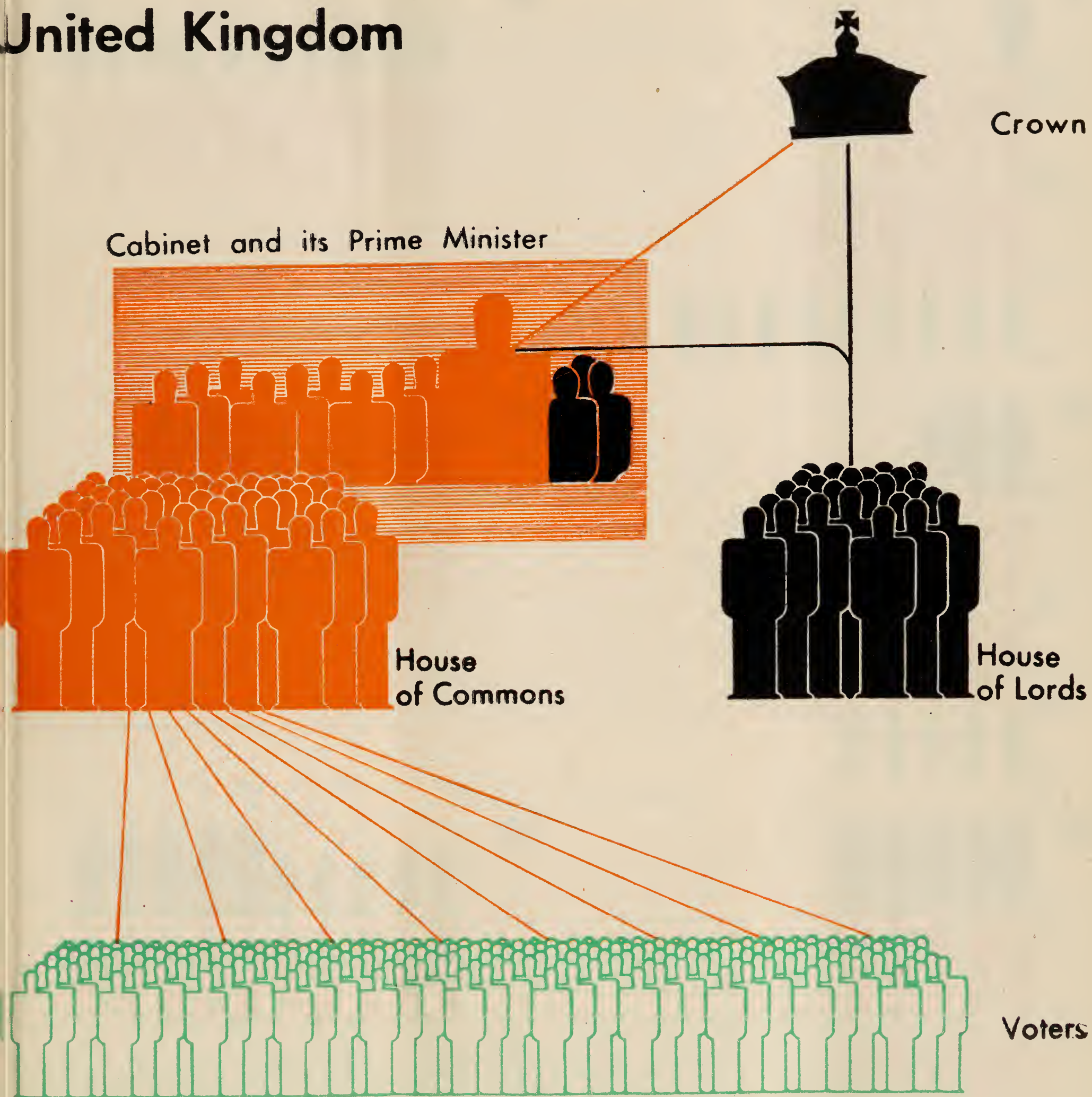
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*Taken from the Series, 'America and Britain', edited by Professor Sargent Florence : Vol. II, 'Our Two Democracies at Work', by K. B. Smellie, with photographs and pictorial charts designed by the Isotype Institute. George G. Harrap & Co., London. Designed and produced by Adprint, London, and reproduced by their kind permission.*



# Cabinet Government United Kingdom

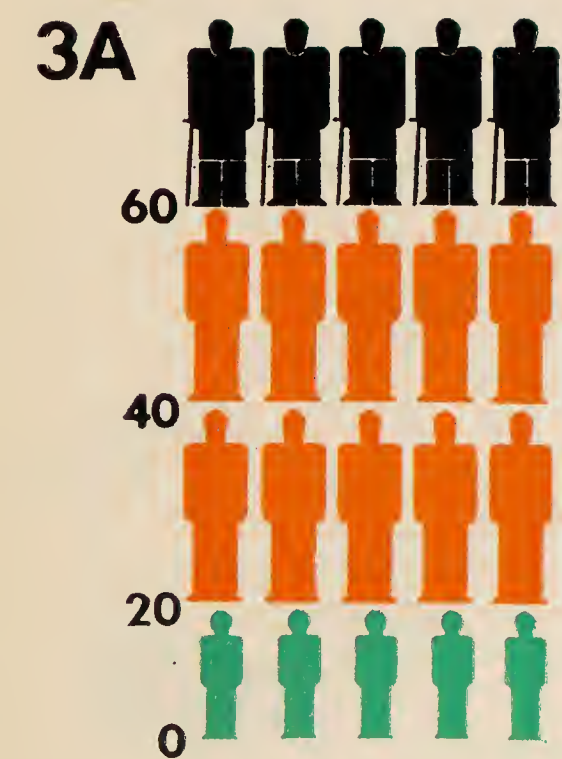
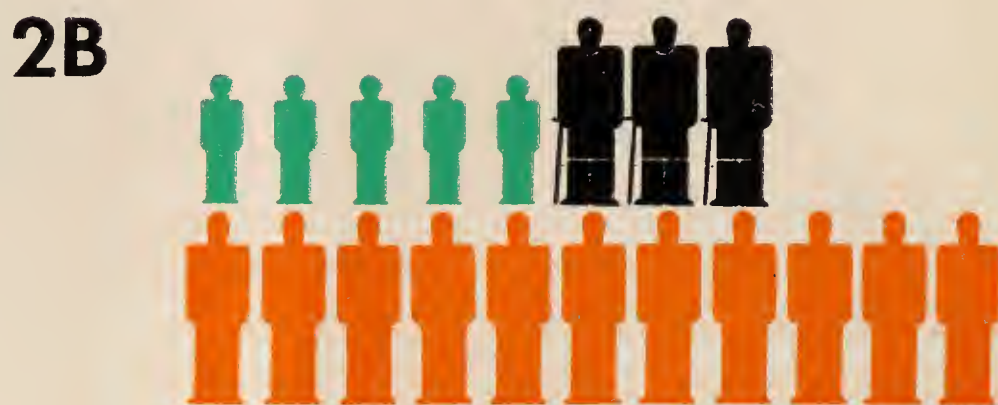
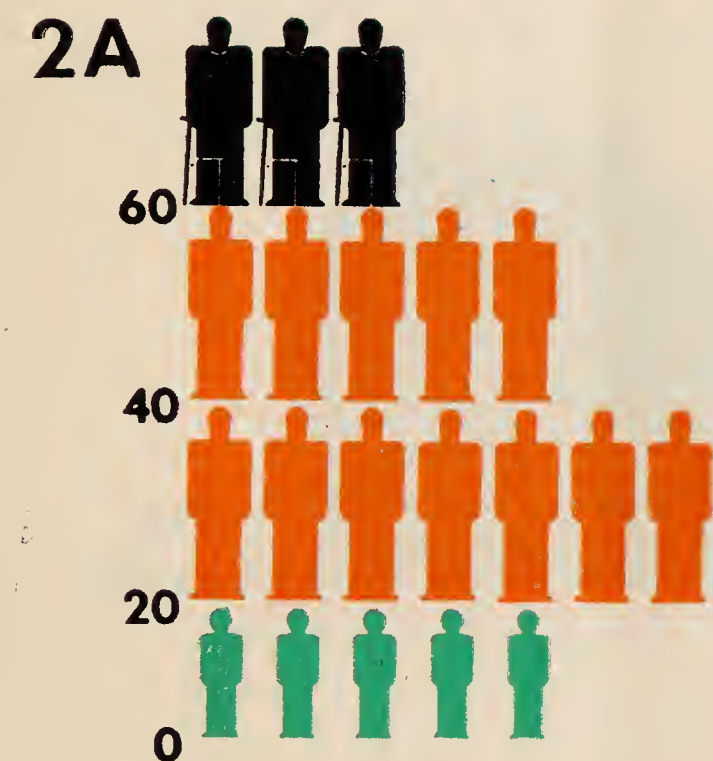
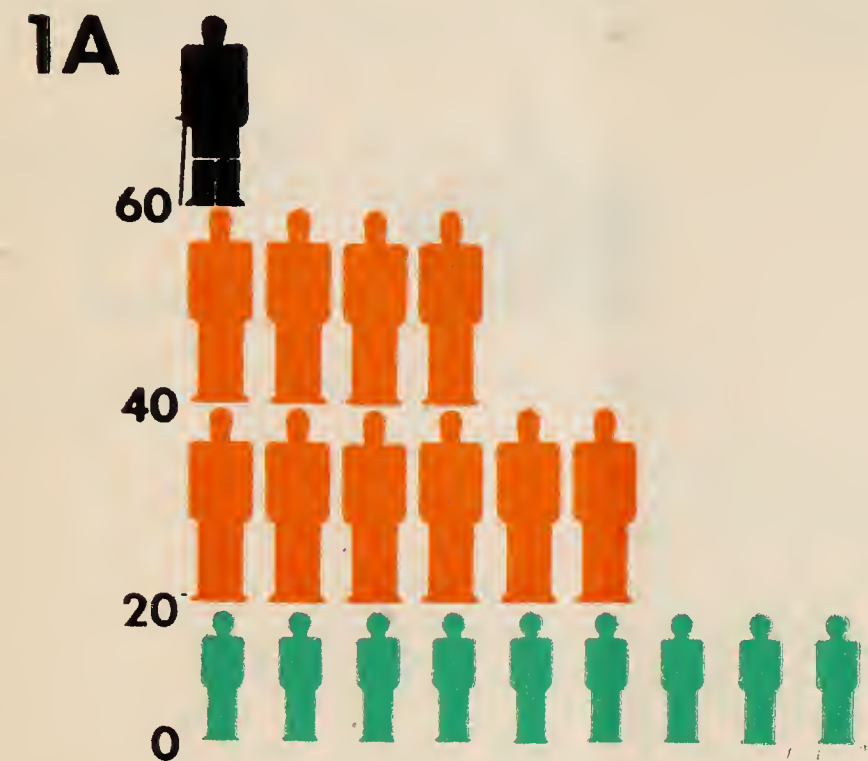


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# How the Age Groups Shift



Each symbol represents 5% of the total population

green : under 20 years

red : 20-60 years

black : over 60 years





All these visual aids have their peculiarities. Charts in an exhibition have the advantage that pupils with their teachers can discuss the material at their ease and afterwards go back, either as a group or individually, to look at the charts and their wording again. Lantern slides or film strips permit the teacher to arrange the sequence of pictures according to any plan and to show the same slide twice if necessary.

It would be a great mistake to push visual education too far, because once a problem becomes complicated it must be discussed verbally. But within the framework where visual education is applicable, the verbal instruction can be adapted to the particular visual technique. One can show magnetic rods on a chart and talk about them and their properties. But one cannot show 'magnetism', because there is no Isotype symbol for it. One can speak of living beings in connection with Isotype symbols, but not of 'life'. The entire phraseology adapted to visual aids should be fairly simple. It will have to use fewer general terms than are usually found in textbooks or lectures. Writers of textbooks which are intended for use together with visual aids may have to adopt a plainer style even than that which is used to reach comparatively uneducated people.

### Visual Argument and World Citizenship

It is hardly possible seriously to predict the future trends of human relationships, but one can imagine an atmosphere of mutual understanding and amicable discussion. There are people already who would like to regard themselves as world citizens of the future.

Problems of worldwide organization, planning and administration are under discussion. It is plausible that many different ways of life will exist side by side in such a world community, and that there will be discussion of certain problems. Arguments would probably be brought forward, springing from such a common basis as humanism. The orchestration of the different instruments will play a much larger part than any plans for their unification.

How is an argument to be conveyed to all mankind? Even before an international language may be introduced—Basic English, Interglossa, Esperanto, or whatever it may be—an international visual language such as Isotype may at least enable people to convey certain information to others in a universally understandable way. It would even provide an opportunity of reaching the sub-literates (illiterates and half-literates) in all parts of the world before they have started reading in any language.

The international auxiliary languages may serve as a means of communication, but a visual language like Isotype might be used in preparing language pictures throughout the world. Any school, any authority, any individual would be in a position to procure charts in the international visual language, as one now can get geographical, climatological and geological maps of any part of the earth.

Visual aids can be much more 'neutral' than any written papers, without becoming any less attractive and impressive. Carefully written 'neutral' works are only too often dull, and even so succeed in irritating people with particular opinions.

It seems to be within the reach of our generation to support a future commonwealth in a practical manner. Of course the network of arguments conveyed by means of Isotype is much smaller than that conveyed by literature, but it may be of a similar kind. Should all these international daydreams of an intellectual world of the common man not be realized, the introduction of visual education in schools and adult education classes seems nevertheless to promote an atmosphere of argumentative meditation and of some peacefulness.

### Education Faces the Future.

By J. B. Berkson. (Published by Harper Brothers, New York. \$3.50)

### New Schools for a New Culture.

By C. M. MacConnell, E. O. Melby and C. O. Arndt. (Published by Harper Brothers, New York. \$2.50).

Since the beginning of the war in 1939, when many of us left the American scene, it has been clear that American educational ideas have been changing fairly rapidly. This movement, very roughly, has been a movement away from the simple rationalism, utilitarianism and optimism of the progressive education movement. The breakdown of nineteenth century liberalism in the political, economic and international spheres has led to a profound uneasiness about the educational ideas that have been the driving power behind educational progress during the early half of the present century. The faith in the saving power of popular educa-

## Book Reviews

tion, when this is unrelated either to society or to the ultimate values upon which individual or social life must be based, has been seriously challenged.

This book by Mr. Berkson should be read by all who wish to understand the character of this change in American educational thought. The early part of the book follows very similar critical lines of thought to those developed by Professor Carr in this country in his *Conditions of Peace* and will be familiar to most English readers. But as he develops his thesis Mr. Berkson shows how a new mental climate is appearing, favourable to the recognition of the power of ideas, beliefs and purposes in the control of the life of the individual and society. There is a reaction against a philosophic neutralism which stimulated endless enquiry without arriving at any solutions. There is a growing realization that there are moments when action is imperative, even on the basis of imperfect knowledge. 'This change

of mood', says Mr. Berkson, 'is reflected in recent criticism of the instrumentalist-experimentalist philosophy of Dewey. The pragmatic view which set out to relate thought to life has hitherto been attacked for the most part as being too much concerned with practice and social action. Now it is being criticized by some of its friends as emphasizing too much the aspect of suspended judgement characteristic of the nineteenth century liberalist approach.' The book goes on to examine such questions as: 'Can the colourless conception of "working hypotheses" inspire man with the emotional drive needed for active social change?' and 'Does not Dewey's philosophy emphasize means too much and aims too little?'

The major part of the book is a clear and fascinating study of the growth of the progressive education movement in America and of its old and new critics. The view is presented of the two extremes of thought. At the one extreme is the essentialist who conceives the school as a medium for the transmission of the social heritage



through a fixed curriculum of 'subjects'. At the other end of the scale is the progressive who conceives the school as an environment in which creative capacity is released through 'project' activity based on child interests.

In the concluding sections of the book a synthesis is developed between these two philosophies and the author shows that there is a middle way to be found between the two extremes. Another title for the book might have been 'Progressive Education in Transition'. It is certainly a book that should be read by all in this country who wish to bring their ideas about American education up to date.

The second book is the co-operative production of a High School Principal, the Chancellor of a University, and an Assistant Professor of Education.

It is the description of 'an experiment in educational democracy, originally a joint project by Evanston Township High School and Northwestern University of Evanston, Illinois'. This book should be read in conjunction with Mr. Berkson's because it is the straightforward account of an attempt to work out in practice some of the features of the synthesis developed in the more general and philosophic work.

Quite apart from its value as a description of an experimental school, this book should be read by all English teachers who are frightened by the idea of the large multi-lateral secondary school. Evanston High School is a four-year suburban high school set on a 55-acre campus and providing accommodation for 3,000 students. The usual organization of house-rooms, counselling-centres and student-committees, is described incidentally and may help some English readers who have had no direct knowledge of American high schools to realize that a school of this size, properly organized, may give much greater scope for individual development than the small school with its necessarily contracted intellectual and social life.

But, quite apart from this incidental value to English readers, the book is interesting particularly because the experiment is an attempt to translate into action the synthesis between essentialist and progressive philosophies. The school curriculum is organized partly into 'subjects', where the responsibility rests mainly on adults to work out a scheme that shall 'translate our Christian-scientific-democratic tradition into a living educational programme', and partly on a 'core' or 'project' basis where the students, with the guidance only of adults, work out their own projects, and the emphasis is largely on the acquisition of democratic techniques of learning.

The former activities are 'teacher planned' and the latter 'student

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*Director of Education, Norwich.*

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In a recent review in *New Era*, A. Pinsent said that 'Every education official, school governor and school manager in the country ought to be made to read these essays and pass a viva about their substance as a necessary condition of appointment or election.' Here are some other comments :

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planned'. As it developed, the experiment broke new ground in three directions. Firstly, in the 'core-programme' the democracy of project work found a more vivid expression than older work of this kind. Secondly, the parents of pupils were brought into the experiment (and the life of the school) in a new way. And thirdly, the experimental school linked up with the teacher-training of the city in a new and valuable way.

The educational experiment described in this book was begun in 1939. It has developed steadily over a period of four years, and the book is a most stimulating evaluation and criticism of this period in the life of the school.

These two books, the one giving a wide general survey of educational thought, the other giving a 'close-up' of a particular school, should be read by all interested in current progress in education, for the new ideas that are being explored in America are the same that are enlivening our own thought on this side of the Atlantic.

*B. A. Fletcher*  
Professor of Education,  
University of Bristol,

**The Loom of Language.**  
*Frederick Bodmer, edited and arranged by Lancelot Hogben. (Allen and Unwin. 15/-.)*

It is a safe assumption that most people have a natural interest in and curiosity about language. It is seen in the zest with which a young child learns its native tongue; later, if it learns a foreign language, the same interest appears in the early stages of mastering quaint new sound combinations and attaching them to things. Alas, for most, the stage of precision (as Whitehead calls it) in language

learning at school proves fatal to this interest. In the Introduction the authors list the various circumstances which 'combine to encourage a distaste for linguistic studies among those who speak the Anglo-American language'. Among them we note that 'formal education fails to supply a compelling reason for a pursuit which has little connexion with the needs of everyday life'—most of the reasons we give in school being insincere or out of date, and also that the dead hand of Plato in formal education leads us to sacrifice realizable proficiency for the pursuit of unattainable perfection. Anyway, the idea that it is more difficult for an adult than for a child to learn language is a popular myth, disproved by modern experimental research.

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home student, not for children or for schools. But language teachers will certainly find in it a wealth of useful material, of cross references and comparisons, of hints on method, and of witty challenges to vested interests, whether those of the traditional grammarian or of the direct methodist. Part I deals with the natural history of language—language as a product of social evolution. Here we find the story of the alphabet, of accident or the table manners of language, of syntax or the traffic rules of language, and a chapter on the classification of languages and the characteristics of language families. Part II displays with considerable detail the structure of the two language groups which most nearly concern the Anglo-American reader, the Teutonic and the Romance. The work of C. K. Ogden and others is used in devising basic word lists to ease the task of learning a new language. In Part III the emphasis shifts to language-planning—the problem of redesigning language as a fit instrument for a world society. There is first a chapter on the peculiarities of those language families not previously dealt with, then the story of the pioneers of language planning and of the recent important work in this field. The different competitors for the rôle of auxiliary world language are reviewed and criticized, from Dalgarno and Wilkins in the seventeenth century down to Basic English; in the light of this, the characteristics of an effective

constructed language can be described. (In view of the recent publicity given to Basic, these chapters are especially valuable and will, we hope, swell the numbers of those who press for that eminently practical project, an efficient auxiliary world language.) Part IV is a language museum, *i.e.* classified word lists in the Teutonic and Romance languages.

All those concerned with teaching languages, and, we hope, a great many intelligent citizens, will be grateful to Dr. Bodmer for his erudition, so lightly borne and clearly set out, and to Professor Hogben for his share in editing and condensing this successor to *Science for the Citizen* and *Mathematics for the Million*. It may be added that Mr. Hogben is himself the latest entrant for the world language stakes with Interglossa. (Pelican Books.)

J. W. Tibble

**The New Education Bill. H. C. Dent. (University of London Press. 32 pp., 9d.).**

Few people have done as much as the Editor of *The Times Educational Supplement* to pave the way for the Education Bill which is now in the committee stage in the House of Commons. His trenchant analysis of the needs of our time in terms of 'A New Order in English Education' was highly recommended in those pages by the present reviewer, and his unsparing efforts to secure a measure of educa-

tional advance are well known to our readers. We may, therefore, be forgiven for hoping that his anxiety to see the Education Bill pass into law will not cause the prophet to give place entirely to the politician.

This pamphlet, of course, is intended for the general public rather than for the specialist in education. It provides a guide to the many proposals of the Education Bill for which many parents will be grateful, but tends to promise more than the Bill is calculated to provide. To state that 'every boy and girl, *every man and woman* in the country is to be offered a good education' (page 3, our italics) seems a considerable overstatement, while to say that 'the publicly provided schools are available free to all their children between the ages of 2 and 18' (page 5) appears to be somewhat misleading.

On the legal duties of parents with regard to their children's education, as laid down in Clause 34, the pamphlet is liable to produce misconceptions. 'Most parents', says Mr. Dent, 'will send their children to the publicly provided schools and will therefore have a legal duty to see that these are well and efficiently conducted' (p. 4). But on the machinery by which this legal duty could become operative both the Bill and Mr. Dent are strangely silent, for 'the Codes of Regulations by which schools shall be administered', we learn, 'are matters for adjustment within the Framework' (p. 31). It would appear from the former statement that the parent is legally bound and is personally responsible for seeing that the schools provided by the local education authority are efficient, but on page 7 we learn that 'it is part of the duty of the local education authority to see that parents carry out their duties in respect of the education of their children'. Some parents may find all this rather confusing and infer that the L.E.A. has a duty to see that the parents carry out their legal obligation to see that the schools provided by the L.E.A. are well and efficiently conducted. In this matter the pamphlet does not discriminate sufficiently clearly between the private and the publicly provided schools and therefore tends to give a picture of the educational cat busily chasing its own tail.

Mr. Dent is at pains to show that the Bill represents a compromise between the claims of contending interests, particularly in the sphere of dual control and religious education, and we shall certainly agree with him when he says 'Mr. Butler has stretched ingenuity to pretty well its furthest limits'. His explanation of the new offers to the religious denominations is clear and commendable though many people will have qualms about his inference on page 20 that in due course 'absolute justice' may demand the establishment of 'fully maintained denominational schools for those who desire them'.



Here and there in the pamphlet the prophet of the 'New Order' once more raises his voice—'Stereotyped curricula would mean the end of democratic education. We want infinite variety of curricula, to develop the infinitely various capacities of children, young people, and adults; we want teachers to experiment freely, research workers to carry out investigations and the general public to make suggestions' (p. 30). The pamphlet leaves us in no doubt that Mr. Dent will 'back this Bill to the uttermost' and we hope it will commend the wide circulation it deserves and succeed in its worthy aim of securing a strong public opinion in favour of the Education Bill. When this has been achieved we trust that Mr. Dent will recall that in the educational world politicians truly are plenteous and prophets all too few.

David Jordan

**From Learning to Earning—  
Birth and Growth of a Young  
People's College. P. I. Kitchen.  
(Faber and Faber, 8s. 6d.).**

The appearance of this book is timely. Quite apart from the fact that it cannot but prove of value to those who will be called upon to initiate and run young people's colleges, it presents a living example of the practical idealism which is vital to the success of all plans for educational reconstruction.

Here is a clear sense of purpose at the root of everything. The Lewis Committee of 1916 had said that a handrail was required over the bridge which crosses the perilous waters of of working adolescence. Principal Kitchen and his associates set out to provide that handrail for the young citizens of Rugby.

The purpose was everything. Op-

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position was diplomatically countered, or, if necessary, fought; hypotheses about methods, etc., however dearly held, were dropped if they put less than was hoped into the handrail; making a start with the equipment available or procurable—three army huts, an eight-acre field and 'austerity' fitments—was considered more important than waiting for fine premises.

What were the results? First that, when Compulsory Day Continued Education crashed in 1922, the Rugby school alone survived, saved by the united will and effort of the L.E.A., the staff, some employers, and many parents and pupils. Second, the vigorous expansion of the concurrent scheme for voluntary technical and art education for older students, the success of which is not to be measured merely by examination passes, although these abound. Finer measure is found in the students' willingness to forego half a day's pay if allowed to attend the school during day time one day a week, in the employers' recognition that such sacrifice should not be made, and in the general widening of interests pursued in a spirit of corporate unity.

Principal Kitchen tells us that pride of place is given to juvenile employment problems. Physical welfare, leisure activities and class-room work follow in that order of importance. We are told also of the successful functioning of the college as a democratic community through the activities of the School Council and the various students' committees. One wonders whether this success was not due largely to the order of precedence given to the above-mentioned activities. Isn't it probable that a sense of reality can attach to the training of young persons in self-government and citizenship generally, only if it is accompanied by an awareness of identification with the larger community through the performance of essential tasks appropriate to one's capacities? Many such questions will probably arise in the mind of the thoughtful reader of this volume.

A. H. Radcliffe

**U.S.S.R. Speaks for Itself.  
(Lawrence & Wishart. 6/-).**

Now that we are beginning to realize that the Soviet peoples are human after all, we are trying to find out where they are like and where unlike ourselves. And a very good way of getting a picture is to read contemporary novels, plays and articles, many of which have been and are being translated into English.

*The U.S.S.R. Speaks for Itself* is a collection of articles written by Soviet experts about every aspect of Soviet life, divided into four sections under the headings of 'Industry', 'Agriculture and Transport', 'Democracy in Practice' and 'Culture and Leisure'. These

articles provide the answers to so many of the questions we are always asking about the U.S.S.R. There is detailed information about planning, wages, factory management and the organization of light and heavy industry, and from it the reader can learn why there is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R., who owns the factories, mines and farms, whether the factories are run democratically, and how the Soviet worker can use his initiative.

The second section of the book explains how collective farms are run and what are State farms, how the collective farmers arrange their work and wages on a co-operative basis, and how the scientist helps them to find better ways of sowing grain and breeding cattle.

Sections 3 and 4 deal with the organization of social services in a similar way. The information is given in a personal and simple manner by scientists, farmers, artists, a member of a local soviet, an editor of a newspaper, a teacher and many other workers.

The first chapter serves as a link to all the following chapters, as it is a report on the results of 1940 and the plan for 1941 given by Voznesensky, who presents valuable information to anyone who has the patience to read through statistics and facts on every aspect of Soviet planning.

I should especially recommend the chapters on 'Crime Recedes', 'Progress of Non-Russian Nationalities', 'The National Question Solved', 'The Cinema' and 'The Theatre' to teachers. This book would be equally useful on the staff-room shelf or in the upper school reference library.

D. L.

**Education in Post-War  
Germany. By Minna Specht.  
Preface by Professor Gilbert  
Murray. (International Publish-  
ing Company, London. pp. 40, 1/-).**

There is much talk to-day of the re-education of Germany, some of it by people with but scant knowledge either of Germany or of education, and it is a relief to turn to this pamphlet written by an educator who has vast experience of both.

The aim of her proposals is to lay the foundation of an attitude of mind in German youth other than the worship of force. As any school system is closely connected with the character of the State, the first step to be taken must be the complete abolition of Nazi institutions, with all this involves. Only by deeds will German youth be convinced that we are in earnest. Education must help German children to make the transition from Nazi to Post-War Germany, 'accepting it as a great constructive task which the whole nation is called upon to fulfil'. Therefore the objective for the German



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Nazi training of youth and the reasons of its success, the author sets out her views on what the future schools and their curriculum should be like. This includes a wise and tolerant page on religious instruction. As for the method of teaching, she advocates the use of the Socratic method, which is natural to 'the youthful mind seeking to express its thoughts, eager to sharpen its wits in contest with others'. Distorted biology and history being the corner-stones of the Nazi creed, teachers must be given the necessary preparation to enable them to tackle biology scientifically, but the hardest task will be to prepare them for the sound teaching of history. Miss Specht believes that a good deal of preliminary work must be done before history teaching can be conducted in such a manner as to 'extend the knowledge of reality'. In conclusion the author enumerates the urgent tasks confronting German teachers who have emigrated to this country and hope later to be useful in their tasks; in this it is hoped they will be assisted by British educators and organizations.

Much of the advice contained in this valuable little book will be useful also in other countries where education will have to be reconstructed. And it is good to know that so distinguished an educator as Minna Specht is working with the N.E.F. to produce a handbook for teachers in such countries.

Marie Butts

## Crime and Psychology. Claud Mullins. (Methuen. 8/6).

The idea that Society should be anxious for the welfare of the criminal and should attempt to reform him is very new. Mr. Claud Mullins, a London Stipendiary Magistrate, has for some time been making as much use of modern psychological knowledge as is possible under the present law and rules of court procedure. In *Crime and Psychology*, Mr. Mullins gives an account of his methods and some of the results achieved. The first chapter is devoted to an explana-

tion of the principles of modern psychology, and to a discussion of the difficult problem of responsibility and psychological determinism. If even our chance thoughts and apparently 'free' decisions are determined by unconscious mental processes, then free will is an illusion; in this case how can a man be held responsible for his crimes? Mr. Mullins comes to the conclusion that the question is irrelevant for the penologist, except in so far as it points to the necessity for a psychological investigation into the mental mechanism behind a criminal act.

The rest of the book is devoted to a discussion of ways in which penology can be brought into line with modern psychological ideas. He suggests that either the clinics would send our their staffs to courts as may be necessary, or delinquents would on visiting the clinic always pass through the hands of the various experts and reach the psychotherapist on the first day of their attendance.

Mr. Mullins is not afraid of expressing his ideals; he states that 'fear is the first obstacle in the way of psychotherapy' and that before 'either a practising barrister or a Justice of the Peace aspires to do judicial work with criminals, he might not unreasonably be expected to attend some lectures and to read some books on penology and psychology'. Nevertheless, Mr. Mullins is fully aware of the difficulties. He states that: 'the community is almost completely non-psychologically minded and could not either understand or refrain from abusing a system of justice wherein the needs of offenders were the sole consideration of those who have to sentence them.' Further, 'it has been unfortunately true that a child with a psychological disorder . . . has so far received less public sympathy than a child with a spinal complaint or defective eyesight.'

It is not too much to say that the legal world will one day realize the debt it owes to Mr. Mullins for his pioneering work.

Roger North, J.P.

educator, as for the politician, is that Germany should co-operate in the establishment of a just supra-national order.

The burning question for German educators anxious to bring their young people back into civilized life will be whether they can 'find a reliable criterion of values with which to approach fundamental questions'. They must face their problems honestly and think out an undogmatic philosophy by which they can live and teach. 'Without philosophy education becomes the blind tool of political power.'

After a penetrating analysis of the

# International (N.E.F.) Notes

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## South Africa

Major E. G. Malherbe, President of the N.E.F. in South Africa, is now Head of the Army Education Services and Director of Military Intelligence in the Union Defence Forces. Under him are 150 fully trained Army Education Officers.

Johannesburg.—The N.E.F. Group received from the South African Council for Educational and Social Research a substantial grant for conducting, at the Milner Park Junior School, a comprehensive

school feeding experiment in which various Government and scientific bodies are interested. The experiment continued to the end of 1943, after which a report was made. A National Education Conference is being planned.

Western Province.—Owing to the efforts of this N.E.F. Group a Children's Art Centre has been started and has become a recognized service under the Education Department. The Centre is housed in a splendid old building recondi-

tioned at a cost of over £6,000. It is visited by teachers and some 300 to 400 children every week. Supported by the Department of Education two courses have been held in Activity methods and a course in Mental Hygiene has been planned for April, 1944. The group is devoting much energy to spreading project and activity methods in schools, and at least two schools and a fair number of teachers are working under its guidance; regular study groups are run for



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discussing difficulties and reporting progress. Two Inspectors from Southern Rhodesia who visited the branch and observed activity methods in the schools were responsible, on their return, for holding a conference on the subject.

**Australia**

*Queensland.*—A four-day conference, attended by 3,000 teachers, was arranged by the Queensland N.E.F., August, 1943, on the theme 'The Place of Education in World Reconstruction'. The conference was opened by the Governor of Queensland, and the opening lecture was given by the Director-General of Education. The Conference was chaired by Mr. P. M. Hamilton, President of the N.E.F. in Queensland.

*Hobart.*—The N.E.F. Group has held meetings on the educational systems of Russia, U.S.A., China and Japan. It is particularly interested in the proposed Community School, an adaptation of the Tasmanian Area School to the needs of town children. A site has been bought a few miles out of Launceston, from which town the children will come. Some will be resident, perhaps for one month out of six, looking after gardens and poultry, and the girls' practical work will help in the running of the school and residential blocks, the cooking and laundry. Most of the children will travel each day from the city in special trams. The war is preventing the Department of Educa-

tion from going ahead with the scheme, though the N.E.F. and other bodies are pressing for immediate action.

The *South Australian* group has set out to formulate a plan for an improved education and much excellent work has been done to this end in a series of study groups.

*New South Wales.*—During March and April, 1943, a series of five addresses on 'Religion in Education' was organized by the branch. Two were given by Roman Catholic speakers, one by an Anglican bishop, one by the Principal of Sydney Teachers' College, and one by the Professor of Philosophy at Sydney University. The different points of view expressed, and particularly that of one speaker, who maintained that religion was essentially opposed to the whole educational process, stimulated a great deal of discussion not only in the press but in both Houses of Parliament. The purpose of the addresses was completely fulfilled: 'to stimulate thought and prove an incentive to further investigation'. Public interest was so strong that the lectures were published in pamphlet form under the title 'Religion in Education'.

**New Zealand**

The Section is now firmly established with a membership of 400, and the movement to consolidate the activities of the various districts through its inauguration two years ago has been fully justified. *Auckland* has been running both general meetings and small groups. The main theme of the general meetings was 'Education Abroad', but, as in the *Feilding* and *Wellington* branches, much discussion has been held on the probable effect of raising the school leaving age. The *Timaru* branch was fully represented in the Parent and Child section during Community Week, and has been made responsible for setting up the committee on Nursery Play Centres in Timaru. In *Christchurch* the group held a Conference on 'Education and the War'; the average daily attendance was 250. The scope and usefulness of the conference were much increased by the co-operation of the Canterbury Education Board in granting teachers leave to attend. Other activities have included a study of library facilities in Christchurch,

with films, speakers and book displays, and meetings on American Education.

In *Wellington* a radio programme for parents, sponsored by the Education Department, has been written and produced by members of the N.E.F.

Mr. A. T. Campbell, President of the N.E.F. in Christchurch, and Mr. H. C. D. Somerset, Secretary of the Feilding Group, have been appointed joint secretaries to the Consultative Committee on the Post-Primary Curriculum set up by the Minister of Education.

**Italy**

Dr. Carleton Washburne, formerly President of the N.E.F. in U.S.A., is now assisting in the reconstruction of Italian education.

**U.S.A.**

In the spring of last year, Mr. F. L. Redefer, Director of the Progressive Education Association (the American Section of the N.E.F.) joined the Forces. His place has been taken by Mr. Vinal H. Tibbetts, who for twenty-two years has been Superintendent of Schools in Manhasset, New York.

At a recent meeting of the Directors of P.E.A. it was decided to change the name of the Association to the *American Education Fellowship*—'a name expressing continued allegiance to the international organization, the New Education Fellowship . . .'

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# Directory of Schools

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster* : W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

A co-educational boarding school for boys and girls from 2-18 in the centre of a 2,000 acre estate engaged in the scientific development of rural industries. The school gives to Arts and Crafts, Dance, Drama and Music the special attention customary in progressive schools, and combines a modern outlook which is non-sectarian and international with a free and informal atmosphere. It aims to establish the high intellectual and academic standards of the best traditional schools, and the staff therefore includes a proportion of highly qualified scholars actively engaged in research as well as in teaching. With the help of an endowment fund it is planning and erecting up-to-date buildings and equipment.

Fees : £120-£160 per annum.

A limited number of scholarships are available, and further information about these may be obtained from the Headmaster.

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster* : W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

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Junior School 5 to 11 years  
Senior School 12 to 19 years

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ABBOTSHOLME SCHOOL, DERBYSHIRE. ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIP TESTS. 15th-18th May, 1944. Entry to the Senior School has this year to be confined to boys entering from the Abbotsholme Junior School, for lack of other vacancies. Candidates for scholarships for entry in September, 1944, must be under 10 and over 8 on 1st January, 1945. Three scholarships are offered, of values £75, £30, and £30.

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# THE NEW ERA IN HOME AND SCHOOL

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## Tutorial Classes for Backward Girls

In April, 1940, the City of Bradford Education Authority instituted a scheme of special classes known as Tutorial Classes, in order to meet the need for specialized treatment of children who are dull or backward. These children fall naturally into two groups, those whose backwardness is innate, and those whose progress is retarded by ill-health or by some factor in their environment causing maladjustment.

There are now eight such Classes in the City, mostly in Junior, but a few in Senior Schools. The teachers in charge of these Classes are specially chosen for their interest in psychological problems and their willingness to approach school work from a fresh and unconventional angle, basing their methods largely on those of the modern Infants' School. The Classes are kept small so that a great deal of individual attention is given, and the teachers work in close co-operation, not only with the Heads of their own Schools and the Committee's In-

spectors, but with the Educational Psychologist, on whose recommendation the children are admitted to the Tutorial Classes.

Several of these Classes serve more than one Primary School in an area, and children, with their parents' consent, are drafted from surrounding schools whenever this seems likely to be of benefit to them.

Children whose backwardness is not innate are, on the recommendation of the Head of the School and the Educational Psychologist, returned to normal streams as soon as they are able to profit by work with children of their own age group, but the majority of children remain in Tutorial Classes.

The teachers of these Classes are in close touch with each other, and have, in fact, a Club which meets at irregular though frequent intervals in the Child Guidance Clinic, where they have an opportunity for social intercourse, exchange of views, discussion of common problems, and the refresh-

ment of hearing outstanding educationists speaking on subjects which are of particular interest in Tutorial Class work.

It is too early yet to assess results with any degree of exactitude, as there are no instances, so far, in which children have been entered in a Junior Tutorial Class and have passed, in the normal course of events, to a Senior one, and completed their school career.

The Class at Undercliffe Girls' Modern School is the only Tutorial Class for Senior girls, and many of the girls in it have not had the benefit of Tutorial Class treatment at the Junior School stage of their careers. Miss Blackburn has, however, done work of exceptional interest and outstanding promise, and the experiment of running these Tutorial Classes certainly seems to have been justified as far as can be estimated at present.

THOS. BOYCE,

Director of Education

## MISS BLACKBURN'S REPORT

1. *Constitution of Class* The class was formed in January, 1942. The number on roll is usually 25. At present the chronological ages range from 11 to 14+, but the mental ages are much lower and have a wider spread. They range from 6 years 10 months to 11 years 10 months. The I.Q.'s vary from 55 to 94.

2. *Outlook of the Children received* While some members of the group were apathetic and negative in their attitude to life, others were defiant and aggressive. All disliked or despised school. There was little scientific information about

them, but most of them were labelled 'horrid all through', 'nasty', 'impossible', and all had failed educationally. Some were full of fear, and subservient to authority; others full of hatred and destruction. Immediately the class was formed the school realised that they were the educational failures and styled it 'the Duffers Class!'

3. *Aim* The aim of the leader is to help these children to develop their personalities to the full so that when they leave school they will take their places in society as poised, self-confident and, above all, as active and responsible

citizens. The girls will work mainly in factories and shops, and they must be able to meet their fellow workers with easy friendliness and discriminating trust. If the girls are to develop into independent alert citizens they must be fitted to strive for such satisfactions as are available. They must be neither slaves nor rebels. They must know when and how to assert themselves individually and how to accept the laws of the group. This aim is high considering the constitution of the class, but after eighteen months of setbacks and difficulties it is not considered impossible.



4. *Social Background* The immediate needs were to give a secure and kindly atmosphere to the group, and to collect unobtrusively as much data about the individual members as possible.

Enquiries into their home conditions were revealing. Two girls of the thirty live in small type Corporation houses. The others live in a low average working class district. Seventeen girls live in homes which have no baths and no hot water system. Rents vary from 5/3 to 12/6 per week.

Only eight girls come from homes where there is ordinary good management and where habits are thrifty. As a result of slipshod ways in the homes the girls are unsuitably clothed. Torn and pinned garments showed that there was no system of mending either by the children or the parents; yet only seven mothers work full time, and two of these working mothers send the cleanest and best cared for girls in the form. The girls were unconscious of their careless unkempt appearance.

Although not extremely poor, economy in the home is indifferent and haphazard. Only one girl receives free milk and free dinners, and pocket money is lavish, varying in amount from 2/6 to 5/- weekly.

The parents are now well known to the school and though friendly and, in the main, anxious to co-operate, they are limited in intelligence and outlook. They were unable to give good physical habits to their children. Eating and milk drinking were primitive, and many of the girls were dirty. Hair was only attended to when a card was received from the school nurse. Mothers who had been unable to give a regular physical routine to their girls could not be expected to give adequate help in character training. There was a low standard of punctuality and complete indifference to attendance on the part of parents and girls. Posture in almost every case was poor and speech was so slovenly that at times it was unintelligible.

5. *The Beginning* The first task of the group was to deal with taunts and jeers. They were labelled 'Duffers'. They had to assert themselves in the school yard, in the streets and at home. Brothers, sisters and sometimes even parents, secretly ashamed of

this stigma, were louder in their despisings than the outsiders. They battled with such great vigour for their rights that this gave the leaders hope. Much free discussion of this was encouraged in the classroom. It was pointed out, and endlessly and quietly repeated, that lessons are only part of life. They were encouraged to formulate simple values for themselves. They are asked at all times to estimate their own actions and those of others. This was a very elementary introduction to purposeful thinking. It was always pointed out to them that every person has power to give something to the community, and that if what they give is their best then their achievement is success. Discussion was much used at this stage. Lives of ordinary people such as factory workers, dustmen, milk girls were used as topics. It was stressed repeatedly that the effects of well done work were far reaching and helpful for everybody.

Gradually the tension of 'Duffers' Class' relaxed, and it was interesting only last week to hear the remarks of two children who were admitted to the class last October, when it was found that they could not march with the new Form I.

*Doreen*: 'You know how I cried when I had to come into this class. It was because I felt that all the school would look at me because I was a dummy. I daren't walk in to prayers.'

*Sheila*: 'Yes. I felt the same. It was awful.'

*Leader*: 'Do they really say these things about you, or do you feel that they are going to say them?'

*Together*: 'Oh, no! they say them all right.'

*Leader*: 'Do you feel the same fear now?'

*Together* (and heartily): 'No, we just don't care what they say now. We don't want to leave this Form.'

*Doreen added*: 'I know when I'm on a good thing.'

All the girls were educationally retarded below their mental capacity. The causes for this varied from the deep-seated to the obvious, but each case had to be studied separately, which took time and patience. The girls had been gradually falling behind from their earliest days at school. The troubles were all of long standing, and during the years they had developed to perfection the art of not listening. Mary, whose mental age is seven years, chronological age

12, expressed this attitude accurately. Asked why she had not come forward when she was requested, she said 'I didn't hear enough. I only heard the "M" of Mary.' Home life is so inconsequent that there is no need to listen. Affirmations are reiterated when important and usually enforced by hits and cuffs. Being unsure of success in their efforts they had also developed the art of watching others. They made no attempts to think for themselves. The first Physical Training lesson will always be remembered. For the first time there was no one on whom to rely. Orders were only partly heard and amusingly misinterpreted.

6. *Posture* The first great need was good posture, as they lacked enough confidence to hold their heads erect. Much simple and happy work was given in the physical training periods. In order to help their listening many simple games were taken where there was variation of command. Gradually this lesson became a great joy and a source of pride because here results are obvious. After eighteen months the girls have grown up into well poised confident human beings. They stand and sit and walk well. One or two who are tall and overgrown have occasionally to be reminded, but in the main good posture is established.

In games, development was slow. Here, of course, the ethical problem occurs, and the unfolding is gradual. Alert thinking is an essential in a good game, and the power of thought in the group was not only limited but undeveloped. All girls now take part in the games lesson. For a long time May was too afraid of the ball to take part, and Hilda much too self-conscious. But now both girls await it eagerly. Violet, who was unable to speak much, had a most discouraged posture. Her head was always well forward. She was too immersed in day-dreaming to see the ball. Last week the captain remarked 'Have you noticed the improvement in Violet's play? She has caught two girls out and when she swipes it herself it's grand.' This comment was accurate. At first the standard of performance was low. The girls accepted anything and offered anything. Gradually, as the basic positions were understood they



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gan to demand style. A feeling of exact performance became apparent. Here pride in achievement could be measured, and any deviation from good style was severely criticised.

Living together is not easy, and working together in co-ordination towards a group result is most difficult.

Every girl expected every other to keep the rules, but she herself was always the exception. When a girl was out in Rounders she found a variety of excuses against the decision. 'It isn't fair', was the repeated cry. Usually the individual player could only see a very small part of the game. Some girls still find it hard, but most girls now can take the word 'out' with a smile and immediately ask for permission to help in the field. Good humour was a long time in developing, and at times it seemed as if it never would come. Joan, the only over-protected child who was away from difficulties, still finds it hard.

7. *Speech* The ability to express oneself clearly and forcefully in simple language is essential.

Speech was not defective, but it was crude and in most cases unintelligible. Rene and Violet were too shut-in to speak at all. Diction was slovenly. The first need was to interest the girls enough to talk freely. This they soon did. The next thing was to insist that the speaker made herself understood. This meant that the remarks had to be thought out. Gradually a more natural speaking voice developed and coarse tones became more modulated. With this informal work went a careful plan of formal work. Poetry was read to the group, and it was discovered that they liked words to make pictures and that they could follow simple thoughts that could be linked with a story. It was also observed that a poem had to be approached many times before it was heard. That is an important feature in all subjects presented to dull children. They seem indifferent because they are slow to understand and to feel. Results of lasting value can be obtained if the leader perseveres.

It took many months of dogged and determined patience to establish a love of good poetry. Short

lessons were taken. No girl was asked to memorise. New poems were read on many occasions. For a long time the girls took no part. But after a time chorus work began. Now the girls can prepare a delightful programme and invite visitors to their verse speaking meetings. Most girls insist on taking part. This result has taken a year and a half to build, and there were many weeks when it seemed as if the girls would never grow to love this important part of life. Now it is absorbing and important to them.

Here and in drama the girls have grown to value that discipline which the subject itself can impose. To do the work to the high standard that they now demand they have to give an active and interested concentration, and to think not only about each phrase but about the whole. They have grown to value the demands that this concentration makes upon them and to take a pride in the hard work that it entails.

The atmosphere of the classroom is very free. Problems are discussed. The girls are unselfconscious, and it is possible for the



teacher by quiet observation to know exactly what is happening outside school. In this way the girls are often helped to avoid difficulties. It is possible to give only a few cases.

*Renee.* I.Q. 55. Mental Age 6.10. Chronological Age 12.5.

Renee's home conditions are quite good. She had an accident when she was a year old, and from that time suffered from a certain amount of paralysis of the left hand and foot. She entered the ordinary class, Form I at 11+. She could not attempt the work and began to truant. Fortunately, the class was formed before much deterioration had set in. For a time she refused to speak. It took her some weeks to adjust but she was allowed to remain quiescent. Slowly she absorbed the atmosphere and her fears eased. At first her mother brought her and met her. Now she comes alone. She has a bus journey from Undercliffe to Ravenscliffe, but she attends regularly and punctually. She volunteers information, carries simple messages willingly and takes an active part in class citizenship. She suggests ways of improvement, 'Put a card up on the wall'. She reads a small part in 'Mist Cap' on the stage. She knows one poem and says it well. She is very healthy and although she is working well above capacity this is not disturbing her. When she is confronted with new work she says as she did on Friday, 'I'll try to do it'. She is orderly in her ways. Her moral values are in advance of her intellectual attainments. She is a happy member of the group. As soon as she realised that she was a personality her failure in school subjects ceased to trouble her. She can read a simple book for pleasure and already she can do as much arithmetic as she will ever need.

*Ada.* I.Q. 76. Mental Age 9.10. Chronological Age 12.11.

Ada was a very nervous girl. She bit her nails, was shy and unobtrusive. Her book work was neat, and she was able to read and spell. A piece of drawing paper upset her equilibrium. She could not create a picture, a pattern, a story or a rhythmical expression. She was inhibited. She had made herself ill because she had struggled to keep up an intellectual standard that was beyond her. She had lived in terror of the next difficulty. She was almost undetected, so carefully had she covered her limitations. This was a straightforward case where the easy atmosphere worked wonders. The fact that she could accomplish work within her scope

and without unfair competition gave her courage. She has not a robust personality, but she is kindly and is developing an unexpected thoughtfulness. She was quietly sewing and chatting one day when the psychologist came in and remarked on Ada's ease and unexpected grace. She has had to fight the jealousy of the other girls as her excessive neatness has made them envious. This struggle has matured Ada and helped her to conquer a peevish tendency. She has also achieved, more easily than we expected, an independence which will help her to adjust easily when she works. Her home circumstances are happy but far too easy going, and it will be good to keep in touch with Ada as long as possible.

*Dorothy.* I.Q. 93. Mental Age 11.10. Chronological Age 12.7.

Dorothy is an especially difficult case. Here was indeed a problem. Dorothy's intelligence was low average but her attainments were those of a child of six. At times her conversation was reasonable and adult. There was no outstanding family situation. There are six children, and Dorothy is the third. Joan is 18, Hilda 15 and was in school last year. The three youngest are boys. She had no settled habits of work and yet longed to succeed. She has purpose and power, but she is unable to learn from adults and at times it seems as if an inherent character defect will prevent her from realising her capabilities. She has a good carriage and a fine physique. She is able at sports and swimming. Yet she is a trial at home and at school.

Several interviews with her mother revealed that Dorothy had always been a trial: 'When she is in the house there is nothing but bother, and when she is out I am full of anxiety. I simply dread Sunday'.

How is Dorothy troublesome? At home she is always causing a row either by tipping the book the older girl is reading, or hitting the boys, or tripping somebody up. She is either fighting with her brothers, or stealing the lipstick and powder of her sisters. Only experience can teach Dorothy. She has no faith in school knowledge or home knowledge, but when she suddenly discovers, even the simplest piece of information, she expects the whole world to stop while she expounds. The girls find this tiresome as they do at home.

At home she has received no adequate character training. Her mother is a charming Irish woman, but as Dorothy says, 'Sometimes she brays us that hard that we cry and cry, and then she is sorry, loves us and sends us to the pictures.' This

uneven treatment has been worse for this child than for others because she has needed extra help to combat her defect.

Dorothy is rash and impulsive in judgment and action. She incites girls to rebel against home discipline on the flimsiest of pretexts, and she herself is always in revolt. When she returns home on Sunday evening at 11 p.m. she has to face an irate father and a family council. She is thrashed and becomes hard and defiant. Her approach to adolescence is as violent as her other reactions have been. She paints and uses excess of lipstick for her nocturnal adventures, and she tries to look grown up. She succeeds in looking seventeen. Her family are apprehensive but the situation is out of their hands, as they cannot change their habits and they have failed with Dorothy from the start.

She is determined to go her way as far as possible. They keep her short of pocket money but so many girls have generous allowances that Dorothy can always force them to go where she wants. She is a bully.

If she could be given two years in a residential school she would mature and balance. Character training needs to be persistent and the environment conditioned for some time. In school she is best helped through poetry and drama where she has real talent. Games and swimming too absorb her. At her other work she is fitful and lacks concentration. She is always hopeful that luck will turn events in her favour. Her emotional nature finds great satisfaction in the films, but here again she misinterprets. She thinks that for her life will be different. She will become a film star, and 'To be a film star you don't need education. Some film stars were brought up in a slum. That is her firm conviction, and it is enforced by her tendency to fantasy.

She has certain qualities of leadership but will have no success until she has overcome her tendency to bully. At present she alienates the girls. She is not a thorough workman, even where her capabilities are beyond doubt, but she can be co-operative. She is good and patient with young children and in her sensible periods she longs for home of her own.

In spite of her absorption in grown-up life out of school, which drains her vitality, she is making some progress in school work. She has now reached a reading age of ten years, but her arithmetic is still only at a seven-year level. Although of almost normal intelligence (her mental age is now 12 years 4 months) she would be a handicap to the normal form. Failing residence, the



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for her, as her out of school move-  
ments can be carefully reported, and  
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guided towards swimming. She  
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take her First Class Certificate, and  
it is hoped that she will win her  
Free Pass.

The home here, as in so many  
cases, fails to give the growing child  
training in the use of leisure time.  
The parents have made no prepara-  
tion for this important phase in  
their children's lives. They expect  
the child to jump from childhood to  
maturity without troubling them.  
They trust, in the main, to luck,  
and when they become anxious there  
is a family row.

Adolescence comes early with  
these children, and friction caused  
by unwise handling at home reacts  
immediately on their school life.  
A few brief general points: Free  
play is very valuable. The two  
weekly play periods are planned for  
and greatly enjoyed by the girls.  
Joy develops along the lines  
familiar in child guidance work,  
with a perceptible relation to the  
children's current problems. Group  
work is much used. Spontaneous  
groupings are formed, and it is  
interesting to notice poor per-  
formers attracted to successful  
groups are either helped or rejected  
according to their willingness to  
improve. Criticism is much more  
easily accepted from other girls  
than from adults. It is often

difficult to persuade the children  
of the faulty nature of methods  
they have used for years in the  
three R's. The more involved  
their own methods are the more  
they feel them to be right; an  
attitude based probably on the  
universal desire to succeed but one  
which makes the elucidation of  
their mistakes particularly slow.

All the girls are making educa-  
tional progress, as shown in regular  
standardized attainment tests. The  
girls think that the Form is worth  
while. It has not been easy for  
them to leave their irresponsible  
ways. They are often impulsive  
and weak in judgment, but they  
are faced with their mistakes not  
as faults but as wrong estimates.  
They have to re-estimate and to  
learn to think first. If the girls  
achieve some emotional stability  
before they leave and a scientific  
attitude of mind within their  
limitations they will be ready to  
face citizenship with a wholesome  
and vigorous outlook.

Poetry and drama go hand in  
hand. At Christmas the girls pro-  
duced the simple poem 'Mary and  
Joseph', Elroy Flecker. This was  
placed in a musical setting of rare  
carols. Although simple it was for  
this group extremely hard work.  
In addition to learning the words  
of the poem, and the tunes and  
words of the carols, they had to  
learn how to stand silently behind  
a curtain, how to move quietly,  
rhythmically and with dignity.  
Each girl had a part, however  
simple, and she had to realize it in  
connection with the whole. Because  
the poem and the carols were good  
they stood the endless repetition.  
Backward children are like nursery  
children; they never tire of things  
they love. The task of the teacher  
is to select something that will  
endure. Informal plays are con-  
structed and performed by the  
girls, but they are detailed under  
the heading 'Group Work'.

Development of poise and good  
natural speech gave the girls a new  
and brighter outlook. Personalities  
emerged. Girls who had been  
timid and lackadaisical now showed  
themselves unexpectedly lively.

Betty, who had appeared quiet,  
indifferent and unable to concen-  
trate, thawed very gradually. One  
day she gathered enough courage  
to ask whether she could read the  
'Mary and Joseph' to the leader.

Then shyly she said that she had  
always wanted to play Mary. This  
part was granted her, and she  
played it well. She lost her shyness  
and emerged a pleasant, kindly  
child, with a peaceful, helpful  
atmosphere. Now she is working  
much better and soon will be up  
to her mental age.

Doreen was full of fear because  
she found the pace of a normal  
class far too quick for her. Now  
she has swung over to a normal but  
rather tiresome over-exuberance.  
This will pass, and in a few months  
time she will be a delightful person,  
with a gaiety that is infectious.

Joyce is causing anxiety at the  
moment and may need treatment.  
Her father has married a young  
wife, who already had an illegiti-  
mate child. Joyce resents the  
death of her own mother, the  
marriage and the loss of her father's  
interest in her. She has a mean  
streak in her nature. This is being  
fanned by her own mother's people,  
who work on the child's resentment.  
The mean streak is developing out  
of all proportion. She is mean to  
the girls, carries tales and causes  
much unhappiness. She complains  
about her stepmother to the father,  
and there is a vicious circle in the  
home. When she complains bitterly  
about the treatment at home the  
obvious good points are stressed.  
Her home is clean. She is well-fed  
and well dressed. Her father is  
strict in order to help her. But  
relations remain strained. The  
only help that can be given is to  
let her talk and grumble as much  
as possible and try to give positive  
sympathy and help. This develop-  
ment is being carefully noted and  
reported. Joyce is wounded, and  
she will need much care to turn  
her again to kindness and trust.

Every case history is interesting  
and could be quoted. Careful notes  
are made on all aspects of the girls'  
lives. All deviations from normal  
are noted immediately and reported  
to the psychologist, who examines  
them and offers helpful advice.  
She knows every girl in the form  
well, and is never too busy for  
detailed discussion of their pro-  
gress. If the cases are serious they  
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# Two Experiments in Voluntary Continuation Schools<sup>1</sup>

T. Bazeley

THE first of my two experiments took place in a manufacturing town, where two prominent firms had invited the local authority to open a continuation school—the best in the city—for some of their young hands. The first firm owned three large paper and colour printing works; the second were sweet-makers. Each firm contributed thirty girls; the sixty girls from these four factories came in three classes of twenty, for two four-hour sessions a week.

A difference in the attitude of the girls from the two firms was at once perceptible. The printing firm, realizing that the idea of going back to school was likely to cause resentment among the girls and their parents, had been preparing carefully for several weeks. Foremen and forewomen had been consulted, and the idea of the school explained to them. A letter had been sent to the parents of each girl of an age to go to school, addressed to 'Dear Mr. and Mrs. [name]', and informing them that a school for some thirty of the firm's young girls would shortly be opened by the Local Education Authority and asking them whether, *if their daughter were selected*, they would be willing for her to attend school. The result of this letter, making attendance at the classes the result of selection, was that almost every parent wrote eagerly asking that their Jane or Polly might attend. The sweetmaking firm, however, were unable to make any preparations of this kind; it was a time of great expansion of trade, and all the new girls taken on were merely told that they would be expected to attend school as a condition of employment; and the consequence was a good deal of suspicion and resentment among the girls, very little support from the parents and some opposition from foremen and women.

The printing firm gave me the opportunity of going over their three factories and having a friendly

chat with the future pupils. I did not realize at the time what a difference this would make. It meant that these girls knew a little to whom and to what they were coming. At the sweet factory I also made a tour of the works, but I had no opportunity of seeing the youngest girls, for they were scattered over a vast factory among gangs of older workers. Consequently these girls started out for school full of apprehension, on the defensive, and, at the worst, hostile—their recollection of their day-school being, as I soon found out, mostly of a time of restraint and boredom, if of nothing worse.

The girls from the printing firm, with one or two exceptions, came willingly to school from the first; but the girls from the other firm said, as soon as they got on friendly terms with me: 'Miss, have we got to come here till we are sixteen?' After the first three or four months, however, it was 'Miss, all the girls in my room wishes they could come to school'; or (from a new girl), 'Miss, I thought it would be like day-school, but I loves this'; and 'Miss, do you think they will let us stay till we are sixteen?' There were, however, some irreconcilables to the end. The school was composed of girls who differed extraordinarily from one another in every way and in their attitude towards the school. There was every degree of intelligence and illiteracy, from that of a child who had lately attended an M.D. Department, to the comparative eagerness of Zoe and Winnie from Standard VII.

To illustrate the difference between the girls, I give brief sketches of three members of one class.

*Lily* generally wore a clean white blouse and a short stained blue alpaca coat and skirt, with a green cap. She was tall, had a lovely complexion, short curly hair, blue eyes and a most striking smile. She was tired-looking, she did not want to exert herself to do any-

thing, she did not want to dance, though she was unusually light and graceful upon her toes; she just wanted to loll and giggle with her friend Alice. Her home was in a respectable, airless, mean, yellow street, with small dark houses, in a district known as the Marsh. A dark passage led into Lily's living room; the mother looked old and worn-out. She was dark, drab, dirty, ragged, nursing the baby, but still had Lily's heavenly smile. A boy and girl of school age, ragged and dirty but with the same smile, were sitting at a dirty, unattractive table for dinner, on which was a loaf, withered lettuce leaves, onions and vinegar.

The mother, only just recovering from the baby, said 'Ah, Lily is a lily, isn't she? And a good girl to work; when I was bad she scrubbed the whole house down. She did that too, Lily did'—pointing to a large sea-shell used as a door prop, which had been blacklead all over and polished till it shone.

Every day Lily goes home here, sleeps, gets up and goes to work in the factory, a well-built one, but also down on the flats. When the works close at 5.40 she is tired, gets herself home, over the bridge, through the Cattle Market and along the canal. She cleans herself, has her supper, and walks up and down beside the canal; occasionally she goes to the pictures. There are absolutely no resources in the home, nowhere to cut out or keep anything, no scissors, no books. Lily is sent to school and is expected to make a mental effort and pay attention as a member of a class to remote subjects far, far away from her world (what would not be?) The marvellous thing is Lily's freshness, gentleness, good nature, her listlessness is nothing to be wondered at—she is the shining hope of her home.

*Alice*, Lily's friend, was a thin, poorly-dressed, vivacious girl. Good-natured, idle, witty, sociable, she never worked and never minded

<sup>1</sup> In these days when our thoughts are turning to the future of the Young People's Colleges, it is well that we should not lose sight of the knowledge gained by those who did pioneer work in the Day Continuation Schools. One of these pioneers was Miss E. T. Bazeley (author of 'Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth', whose sympathy with young people led her to experiment in these schools and to make discoveries which have great value for those who are planning for the future. Many of the problems which then beset the teachers will still be with us and the wisdom and insight which Miss Bazeley showed make her contribution relevant to-day. We are very grateful to Miss D. E. M. Gardner, head of the Department of Child Development, University of London Institute of Education, who suggested our re-publishing Miss Bazeley's work and who curtailed it to bring it into line with their control, and to the Association of Education Departments and Training Colleges, and Messrs. Longmans Green for permission to use the material which first appeared in the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy*, May and June, 1921.



being bidden to do so. At a party Alice wore a transparent chiffon hat and a white jumper with society airs, which she could assume in a rather delicious manner. It was Alice who, when we were off one day on an afternoon expedition, insisted on our missing our own tram, in order to take charge of a blind man and help him on to *his* car, which did not happen to be ours.

Over the way from Lily, on the prosperous side of the street, lived *Rose*. Her father was a coal-heaver, and Rose was the freshest and trimmest of young girls. She was very well looked after by her mother, and was tidy, self-satisfied, and limited to a degree. She was always attentive, and occasionally interested in artistic things. She liked dressmaking best, and made herself a blouse at school, which pleased her mother very much. The whole policy and outlook of this family, with its tidiness, comparative comfort, and piano in the front room, was dominated by the shilling, just as that of many other families a little lower in the wage-earning ranks is dominated by the penny.

Lily's family was different. Here one felt there was a certain instinct for spiritual values, but their freedom from material trammels was not that of the margin due to extra wages, but of a sort of stark carelessness of circumstantialities; they had long since thrown overboard anxieties and struggles over material comfort and financial security. Such is the lot of those who live under our weekly wage system.

When I planned out the work for the Continuation School, before it opened, I did so under the delusion that I should find something to continue. I had previously taught Standards VI and VII, and I had always found I could get them actively interested—or, at any rate, to appear to be actively interested—in geography, science, literature, or whatever topic we had in hand. I thought I should be able to work on the same lines with my continuation-school girls. It was far otherwise.

I found two main tendencies among my girls; first, they were extremely disinclined to make the least mental effort. As soon as they perceived that they were being

expected to attend to a geography or history lesson, their minds (with two or three exceptions) spontaneously assumed an attitude of, at best, passive and often active, hostility, their faces expressing blank indifference or antagonism. Secondly, I found that of all the wide range of interests common to the healthy-minded young person, all but one seemed to be extinguished. They had no spontaneous interest left in things, affairs, or ideas; their one dominant interest was in people and in personal relationships.

There is a famous picture of Hope, blindfold, with all the strings of her lyre but one broken, sending one solitary and repeated note, her last, into interstellar space. That picture represents many of these young manual workers. Almost all the quick and living interest in the world outside them, which was probably as healthily alive in them at the age of three as in more fortunately-placed children, has been quenched long before they reach continuation school age, by the folly of much of our educational method and the squalor of our overcrowded streets and homes. One single strand of interest is preserved, one string only can one be sure will vibrate, namely, this interest in personal relationships. Left to themselves, they tend to sentimentalize and sensationalize whatever personal relationships come their way either by actual experience or, at second-hand, through the cinema. Yet this interest in people is the teacher's one remaining road along which he can lead the class out into the freedom and healthiness of disinterested interests, his one remaining tool which he can depend on to effect his purpose. I have never failed to find them listen with rapt attention to a story. What is more, they instinctively if unconsciously, measure their own sordid fantasies against a really beautiful and absorbing story, with the consequences that the whole level of their effort and aspiration is raised.

I found, too, that if I presented a distasteful subject, such as geography, in the form of a story of personal travels, illustrated with sketches, they would listen with delight, and would even swallow maps if these were introduced

casually enough. I need hardly add that they not only had no inclination, but not the least idea how to use books on their own account.

How can one account for this extraordinary poverty of mental background and interest? My study of the girls led me to account for it in some measure as follows: the primary day-school provides a quasi-literary education, but the homes of the majority of unskilled workers are not literary in any way. They contain no books, no ideas. There is no continuity between the life of the average home and the life of the school; one must remember that the children of the working men who do think and do have books mostly go into central, trade, or secondary schools, and do not find their way at fourteen into factories. As soon as a child leaves the elementary school, she is absorbed into the illiterate life of the home, street, and factory. Welfare workers understand what I mean when I speak of the (to the teacher) amazing illiteracy and ignorance of girls who have perhaps only left school a few weeks previously. It takes but a few weeks to obliterate the literary manners taught in school.

Why, one asked oneself in the second place, have they such an aversion from mental effort? Why is it of all things the most intolerable to them? One of the girls, in a class discussion on compulsory attendance at classes they did not like—a girl from Standard VII, a jolly, bright, friendly person—said in one of those illuminating utterances one gets from children now and again, 'Why, we hates these things now, Miss, is because when we were at day-school we were forced to learn the things we did not understand.'

As a result of intimate study of my girls, I formed the opinion that for the first few months very little attempt should be made to teach them by means of even simple generalizations, such as one would use with children of the same age of the high-school type. Oral lessons were overdone with these children in their earlier years. They were prematurely taught in terms of generalizations and mental abstractions at a time when these were meaningless to them, so that



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now, as young workers of fifteen, words convey extraordinarily little to them. In intellectual development they are still children much younger than their years, with a child's appetite for particulars and picturesque detail. Geography must be re-introduced to them not by maps nor even by local geography, but by stories of how people and animals live in foreign countries. History must be represented to them not as the development of nations and of causes, but by means of the stories and aims of national heroes, such, for instance, as those of Garibaldi.

I soon found that they could not learn much at this stage by any form of verbal teaching, but very much by experience, by doing of every kind. It became clear to me that the first few months of the Continuation School for these young factory workers must be a period not so much of class instruction, but of re-education by doing. They had their first fruitful experience of concentrating their attention, not in the medium of words, but in that of rhythmic movement. Most of them found themselves, not by an attention, which they are incapable of giving intelligently to the ordinary subjects of class instruction, but by every form of artistic and useful handwork, by dancing, singing and rhythmical work, by stories and dramatic work. Given this period of preparation, which will be longer or shorter according to circumstances, they will be ready for class instruction in most of the topics of human interest.

There is another cause, or group of causes, which prolongs this period of preparation and operates against the children settling down quickly into that organic co-operative unit, a class. These causes, which I shall now consider under the head of discipline and of buildings, were closely interwoven in the case of this particular school. The popular educational ideal of many authorities in the school world is expressed by the formula that 'discipline is the first thing'. In many day-schools discipline is the first, second and last thing—the external discipline, that is, of a sometimes benevolent and always arbitrary authority. Next to discipline, but a long way second, is instruction. So many people want



their results at once. They want them the moment the child enters the infant school; they cannot even wait for the results to begin to appear in Standards VI and VII. Consequently, from the infant school to Standard VII we have a uniform, unprogressive, external discipline; the child is as unintelligently obedient to authority at seven as he is at fourteen.

At fourteen these well-disciplined children are let loose into the works and street, and in three weeks the only trace of this discipline left is in unreasoning, instinctive hostility to, and suspicion of, authority, a hostility which embraces everything which has ever been associated with authority. The children are let loose without any inner traditions of self-control, without any idea of group loyalty or service, with no idea of the principle of obedience, but only with a memory of the sterile practice of it; most of them (not all) are aggressively selfish and individualistic, and many of the remainder are passively on the defensive. A situation of this kind demands that those in authority shall be people who are able to practise the principles of leadership rather than methods of coercion.

Our school-house reinforced the tendency on the girls' part to a suspiciousness of authority. We were housed in a solemn building which never belonged to us in any sense. Further, it reeked of school, its very aspect suggesting restraint and boredom, whilst inside it had the drab look one associates with empty Sunday schools, populated only by vacant benches and with all interesting worldly objects eliminated. We were fenced in by prohibitions at every turn. We were quite naturally forbidden the use of the Sunday School piano, but the girls had a gift for discovering harmoniums and additional pianos lying idle in unsuspected meeting-rooms, whence they were driven by the vigilance of the caretaker, an ex-sergeant-major. We had no walls we could call our own upon which we dared hang a picture or put our own rude attempts at beauty. We had not an inch of outside space, no room for games, no room for friendliness with beast, plant or cloud outside our classroom.

The consequence was that though in many ways the girls found themselves in conditions quite unlike those of their day-schools, yet there was enough of authority, linked with prohibition, about the building, too many things they might not do and not enough variety of things they might do, to stimulate once more within them the old demon of boredom associated with instruction. As I look back I realize that it was no wonder the first few months of the school were such hard going. But at last the spirit of the school was born.

I have referred before to the individualism of the girls. Though a friend might help a friend, there was very little spontaneous co-operation for the good of all. The spirit was rather that of a watcher keeping a jealous eye on the other fellows to see that they were not treated better than he was himself.

Towards the end of the first six months we decided to have a party to which the girls invited any or all of their friends. This was the first opportunity taken by the girls for spontaneous social service. During the previous months, in spite of many chances, they had shown only the faintest inclination to do things for the good of themselves or of the class; but now they spent themselves in the sweetest and most unselfish way in taking care of each other's mothers, sisters and baby brothers. For almost the first time, in their singing and country dances, they all worked together in perfect harmony, and all seemed to be moved by the spirit of the best of them, of eagerness to do everything and by a joyous wish to enjoy and not to grumble, and to make everyone else enjoy the day. As one of them remarked with a happy sigh, 'I think it's going off very well, Miss, don't you?'

After this we were no longer a crowd of individuals, each seeing what he could get for himself, but we were a community with a spirit of fellowship born through a simple opportunity for social service. We were ready now for the co-operative effort of class instruction, as well as for many other things.

THE second experiment was carried out under more favourable conditions, thanks to the

co-operation of a drapery-and-furnishing house and a Training College. The firm agreed to send some twenty-seven young ladies, between fifteen and eighteen years of age, to classes at the college. I understood that the announcement of this decision caused a deputaton from the young ladies to the management, in which they expressed disapproval of the idea of going back to school. At a later date, when we knew each other well, I got them to write down what they had felt when they heard they were to go to school. I give some extracts:

'I am tired of school and would rather stay at business and learn all about that first.'

'At first I felt cross, as I thought we should learn typewriting and shorthand, which you know I hated at Central School.'

'I do think it is a shame if they only knew how I dislike the idea. I am sure they wouldn't let me go but the firm says we have to. Good luck it isn't very long—three hours a week. I don't know why I dislike school, but I always did right from a little girl, and really I was pleased when I was fourteen and could leave, and now they have made it a law that we have got to go until we are eighteen. I was really angry and said I didn't know what would happen next.'

[Miss Bazeley makes the following points in solving the problem which faces every teacher in a continuation school, that of freeing the girls from their prejudice against school, and that of leading their interests out into fields of permanent value.

(1) She visited the girls at the house of business thus putting 'them in a position of the right sort of superiority' because they had to direct her to the office, and giving them the opportunity to meet her socially and to realize that she was not dressed in a severe pedantic style.

(2) The school hours were shortened at first (only three hours a week) and were gradually lengthened to eight hours at the demand of the girls themselves.

(3) Two classes, doing different work, gave motive for a 'concert' in which they could entertain each other and their friends.

(4) Miss Bazeley could from the outset talk of going to classes at College instead of ever once referring to a continuation school.

(5) The first lesson was held in the garden where groups of students



were sitting about at work. 'The girls found themselves part of something tangible, cheerful, young and with a purpose of its own'.

After describing the work and the activities of the first term, Miss Bazeley continues:

The preparatory period, in which the young people shed their prejudices and learn confidence in themselves and in their grown-up friends, is now safely passed through. The teachers have had time in which to watch for and follow the slender thread of the young people's interest, and by means of it to lead them to new and unexpected worlds of doing, thinking and seeing. We do not need to settle down, but to go forward with our quest into the world of music, movement, colour, drama, literature, history, and thought. One of the secrets of our present happiness, I believe, lies in this, that to begin with we took up some apparently trivial, spontaneous need—such as a desire for coloured tunics, and in following this up we have kept on discovering fresh vistas, have kept on touching on fresh continents of material or thought. The children have been conscious, not of limitations, but of possibilities. What we now need is certainly to consolidate our possession of the territories already sighted, but at the same time to keep our freedom and our sense of undiscovered treasure, and to go on taking up interesting topics, whenever life happens to put them in our path; and it is in this way that I should like the approach to science and to the study of the Bible to come. I want science to start not in the laboratory, nor even at the microscope; but in some explanation, casually needed on some ramble or a question asked during the painting or cooking lesson.

Once the question has been asked or a direction given by a girl it rests with the teacher to carry the matter forward and to make the study as thorough in any particular direction as the girls are capable of making it.

When I ask myself how is it that these flappers from a drapery establishment have developed more interest in six weeks than my little factory girls did in as many months, I see one reason standing out more prominently than others. These

young people have been put into an interesting, unconstrained environment.

The common room is a beautiful room, with pictures, papers, books, and interesting objects; so also is the art room. The garden is nothing but a town garden, it is true; yet it gives that indescribable sense of well-being that one gets from the presence of grass and trees. In unexpected corners are runs for various animals. It all presents a situation full of interests and possibilities.

It is a mistake to try to teach boys and girls in a vacuum. It is better to teach in a mud-hut, with the jungle at one's door, than to try to teach in any of our schools with the world shut out. What we want is to open the doors and let life in; instead of that, we mostly eliminate to zero.

At a delightful entertainment given by the girls at the end of the term, we had evidence that our education had been brought to the final test as to whether it was real or merely superficial. The girls were certainly different beings in college; but did the school make any difference in their bearing in daily life, we asked ourselves? One of the mothers came up and said she was so thankful her Dorothy was coming to the classes; she had been so dull, timid and lifeless, she did not know how to rouse her; but since she had come to college she was full of life and interest and seemed a different girl.

I am convinced myself of the importance of following clues which emerge apparently casually in one's intercourse with the girls, in, or more often out of, set lesson periods. These clues seem to lead to what the children need. We probably educated the girls and started them on the road of thought and corporate effort, because we had first satisfied and elevated their different sense hungers. Their search for colour, which makes an instant and unlimited appeal to them, was not only gratified, but through it they found themselves led to study and to compose in colour. So also their delight in movement, rhythm, sound—all elemental cravings were sublimated in the eurhythmic and singing lesson.

The temper of the continuation

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school will decide whether the girls' demand for sensation in human affairs will be gratified by the 4d. novelette and the suicide down the street; or whether the romance and drama of the literature hour and the library will widen their sympathies, their knowledge, and their selecting power, touching their motive force to fine and discriminating issues.

The school stage will decide whether their comic muse will spend

itself in the most delightful and resourceful fun, entirely of their own invention, or on the inanities of the comic press.

I offer two more comments of the girls, to illustrate one last fundamental need of adolescence—the first on the education of Sparta: 'I think it must have been a good education, all together in the open air. *They must have had so many friends.*' And the second, on the school, 'I have been congratulating

myself on being under eighteen. The teachers treat us more as companions than pupils.'

It seems to me that it is in this direction that continuation schools have a chance of meeting a need which has never yet been fully met. They may become the homes of many social, aesthetic, intellectual and practical activities, and most of all they may become camping grounds for fellowships of youth.

## Training Colleges Aren't Out of Touch !

M. I. Perkins

**First Year Student at a Teachers' Training College, infuriated at a Broadcast on Teachers' Training**

WE hear that training colleges are swot shops and that psychology text books used by students who are training to be teachers are either a snare or a superfluity. This point of view by no means expresses the feeling of the students themselves, and as one of them I feel that the people who make them are not at all well-informed about the kind of training a student undergoes during her college career. I am glad of an opportunity to attempt to correct what we as students consider an entirely false impression, namely, that the college training of a student is purely theoretical and academic and unrelated to the practical work which she will be called upon to undertake when she has qualified as a teacher.

During our first term at college, in addition to the usual study and observation of children, we were introduced to such activities as play-making, acting, miming, dancing, musical appreciation, and we studied the children's home district in a series of historical, geographical and biological expeditions. We also visited the Juvenile Court and many of the other institutions whose business it is to care for children.

My college, even before evacuation, gained contact with and some understanding of children in schools, play centres and clubs. Since evacuation this desire of the students to get to know children has been allied with the wish to do some form of war work, and it has brought home to us how important it is to know the social conditions of the children we teach. To do this we watch the children playing out of doors—in roads and in parks; we visit their homes, and

some students who are billeted in homes where there are children get close contact with those children and their mothers. Other students find a welcome as well as an opportunity for service in the many varieties of 'Homes' for children under Poor Law and Diocesan care: some of us have opened a club in the School for the Deaf.

The students found that they could gain more valuable experience by forming clubs of their own than by helping in those already sponsored by other people, *e.g.* a certain Youth Centre where we were expected to play Table Tennis and join in Beetle Drives, but were not given any scope for organizing activities on our own lines. Efforts were made to find out where our help was really needed, and as a result a large number of clubs have been formed; permission for these clubs has been granted by various authorities, and each year of students coming up to college has discovered new needs and added its own contribution to the clubs already formed. It will readily be seen that in doing this work we are enriching our own experience as well as satisfying some local needs.

Those of us who help in 'Homes' find that as soon as a student has made an entry into a 'Home', human relationships quickly become established—not the least important being those with the House Mother. For example, the children beg to be taken for walks; they are taken to church by a student who at the same time relieves the tired House Mother. Sometimes the students will visit the 'Home' when the House Mother is out; on these occasions they will put the children to bed and then prepare the table for the next

morning's breakfast; in one home the children ask the students to put them to bed early so that they have time for a story before the lights are turned out. Some students go to War-time Nurseries and Play Centres at 4 p.m., and relieve the nurses and teachers who are tired after their day's work.

In certain of the clubs attached to churches, chapels and institutions we have found a collection of rowdy and unruly children. We have learned that it is essential for the children to have a natural outlet and be actively busy, so the students have introduced charades, painting, puppet making, organized games, stories and handwork. These creative activities have transformed an unruly crowd into an interested and happy family. We have been told in our psychology lectures of the great value of these creative activities, and it has been encouraging to us to be able to put the psychological theories into practice with such convincing results.

My own experience happens to be in a remand home for girls from 12 to 19 years, and therefore I can illustrate from this in more detail. The discipline of the home is somewhat strict, and normally the girls have little to do to occupy their time after the morning domestic duties are finished. We students have visited them several evenings a week and aroused their interest in various directions—one night dramatic work is taken, on another weaving and pottery. We gain the girls' confidence, and as they are eager to talk to us we learn a good deal about their social background, and we often find that the reason for their present circumstances is bad home conditions; *e.g.* some of the girls' parents are cruel, others



ignorant and neglectful. I take drawing and painting with these girls, some of whom have become quite enthusiastic. They are encouraged to draw any kind of a picture they wish and are told that if it is a picture of their experiences they may like to write about it; this they very often do and become so eager to continue the drawing and painting and writing from week to week that I am sure that, not only do they enjoy it, but that expressing themselves in this way is a considerable help to them.

One girl, reported by the matron as having a very bad character, took delight in writing at every possible moment in a corner by herself, away from the other girls. She began to write her autobiography. After reading what she had written we understood some of the difficulties she had encountered during her childhood. Unfortunately she left before her story could be completed, and so far I have been discouraged by the Matron whenever I have asked for her address so that I might write to her and get her to finish her work. Other girls wrote of inter-

esting days they had experienced. Most of them were pathetic little tales; one girl finished her story by saying: 'When I got to the age of eleven I began to be a very bad girl and I have not begun to behave myself yet, but if I were to go home now I think I will behave myself, and I hope they do let me go home and I will show them what I can do.'

Another girl wrote: 'Everybody, girl or boy, man or woman, should love and respect her mother. She is the one who brings you through with all your illnesses and troubles, and looks after you all the years from birth. And feeds, clothes and sees that you grow up a good perfect child. She bakes and cleans, washes and cooks. Goodness knows where she finds time to do all these things. I often wonder how she keeps fit, working from morning till night keeping order in the house; she never gets time to sit down while bed time. She has to go to bed late and get up early in the morning. The only rest my mother gets is on Sunday afternoon. So you see I have a Mother to be proud of.'

These are only two of the many

examples I have found of girls writing in all sincerity, and in a great many cases revealing different sides of their characters from those which have got them where they are.

I have gone into some detail in describing my own experiences in order to shew that a considerable portion of my training has been outside the 'cloistered walls' of the college, and I feel grateful to the college for giving me such opportunities.

The varied experiences we students have gained make us protest strongly against the suggestion that Training Colleges are mere swot shops. I hope I have to some degree shown that they are *not* but that the students *do* gain practical knowledge and experience of life which will prove invaluable to them when they have to face some of the difficult problems of their future profession. After this, my second, term I am beginning to feel the need for more time in order to read of the experiences and observations of those who have wisdom and understanding of children; I might even be ready to profit from a text book!

## Learning Physical Awareness

Margaret Kirschner

IN recent years educational methods have greatly advanced towards free activity. In many forms of physical education, however, an amount of ordering about is still taken for granted which would hardly be tolerated in any other subject. Yet the child's body is as susceptible and pliable as his mind. Habits of physical bearing acquired in childhood go to the making of the personality no less than do mental characteristics and are equally difficult to change in later years. Why then is an essential part of our physical training still carried out by way of command and by strictly pre-arranged activity?

The mere process of growing up does not nowadays ensure the healthy development of a high physical standard. Additional activities are therefore provided, through which it is hoped that physical control will be achieved. In all such activities as sports, games, dancing, eurhythmics, a technique is learnt, a skill acquired,

movements are adapted to musical rhythm and the body is used as a medium for emotional expression. In all of them the pupil's attention is focussed outside his own body. If such activities are given sufficient prestige in school, and if they are presented in an attractive way good results can be obtained in raising physical standards. Yet certain inherent dangers have to be avoided: exhibitionist tendencies in the aesthetic performances, the use of the body as a medium without its adequate control, and the stressing of the competitive factor in matters which largely depend on individual physical constitution.

There are other methods, such as Physical Training, Keep fit, drill and gymnastics, which deal with the body itself, aiming solely and deliberately at physical fitness and control. They use the conventional way of training through 'exercises', *i.e.* through frequent repetition of preconceived forms of co-ordination, designed to cover as

completely as possible the field of muscular exertion. Responsibility rests with the teacher or, sometimes, with the system itself, the pupil being expected to do as he is told and to conform to pattern as strictly as possible. Results depend on the child's co-operation, which in its turn mostly depends on his ability to comply with the demands. Yet even pupils who have gone successfully through several forms of such training are, as a rule, left with a peculiar attitude towards their bodies. They are 'unfamiliar' with them; there is a feeling of helplessness, of not being responsible for their own well-being; of having to be told what is good for them. In clubs and youth centres, members will demand strictly organized physical activity. In gymnastic classes, the majority are, to begin with, most reluctant to contribute their own experiences and observations, and only the exceptional few realize that cautious experimenting with their own sensations of comfort or discomfort



is their natural guide to health and efficiency.

Surely this is not a desirable attitude towards their own physique in young people who are to stand on their own feet and must be prepared to cope with every aspect of life? Life may make heavy demands on them: strenuous work in insuitable conditions; long sitting or standing hours; inadequate leisure; lack of fresh air and exercise, and, for the woman, the claims of pregnancy and childbirth. Whatever the task, success or failure will to a large extent depend on physical efficiency.

The most ingenious exercises, athletic feats and aesthetic performances, can, however, be only partial in their effect. Would it not be wiser therefore to approach the problem more directly, enlisting the child's full co-operation and understanding, in trying to make his body efficient and adaptable? The fundamentals to be absorbed by any student of physical training appear to me as follows:

He must, first of all, acquire an *awareness* of his body. Just as the music scholar must learn to trust his sense of pitch, or the art student his sense of colour and shape, so the child must get used to noticing and registering bodily sensations.

**1. Muscular tension and co-ordination** Many bodily sensations are primarily connected with changes in muscular tension. This phenomenon can be observed by experiencing and recognizing contrasting degrees of tension, by reproducing them at will, and finally by acquiring reliable control of the full scale, ranging from deep relaxation to maximum effort in every part of the body during rest and work. Since there is no isolated movement in a living organism, this will necessarily lead to studies in muscular co-ordination.

Perfect co-ordination cannot, of course, be taught, at least not in the ordinary sense by adaptation to and imitation of 'ideal' patterns of movement. It occurs naturally in well controlled limbs, arising out of a clear mental picture of a desired action. Imperfections may be due to defects either on the physical side, such as stiffness of joints or weakness of muscles, or on the mental side, such as indecision, lack of imagination, failure

to concentrate, nervous inhibitions, etc.

**2. The sense of balance** The same is true of stance, gait and carriage. There is no need to impose a 'correct' posture to be maintained in all circumstances.

In order to secure a good and easy posture children must have at their command flexibility and stability, which they must learn to blend properly. They should practice balancing their limbs (standing on their heads or hands would serve the purpose equally well as balanc-



*Teach  
children*

## **KERB DRILL**

*See that they always do it  
and set a good example  
by doing it yourself.*



**1. At the kerb HALT**

**2. EYES RIGHT**

**3. EYES LEFT**

*then if the road is clear*

**4. QUICK MARCH**

*Don't rush.*

*Cross in an orderly manner.*

ing on tiptoe) and reacting quickly to a change of equilibrium. They should also be alert to observe sensations of discomfort due to a hollow back, or the strain on breathing brought about by a sagging chest and drooping shoulders, or other anomalies. The posture will then look after itself.

**3. Breathing** Finally, breathing has to be considered as a basic element of physical control. As a natural function, breathing is perfect in animals and small children, being effortless and adaptable to activity. We can wish for nothing better than to retain or, if necessary, to restore such a condition. Instead of imposing a fixed rhythm, breathing exercises can take a very different form: blowing bubbles, sailing boats, smelling flowers and scents, or watching one's own response to physical exertion.

I cannot, of course, do more than roughly indicate what can be done along these lines. With the conscious control of muscular tension, co-ordination of movement, balance and breathing, the pupil holds the key to physical efficiency. Having acquired awareness of his own physique and an understanding of its functioning, physical skill and well-being cease to be a matter of chance and become a responsibility.

(Of course the question is much wider than one of physical control or well-being. Physical sensations evoked by the character of one's movements have a deep bearing on the mind, as everybody knows. Relaxation is a mental as well as a physical process. So is the steady-ing of an effort, the timing of an action, and any other physical achievement.)

The teaching of the primary elements of physical control must be both practical and theoretical, and there are a great many related problems which can successfully be tackled from the physical angle: the question of activity and rest; of speed and rhythm. There are personal qualities of character to be developed: determination, perseverance, courage, self-discipline, and many others. Finally, there are social virtues to be fostered through this kind of work: understanding of the other fellow's difficulties, helpfulness and co-operation.



**TWO BOOKS BY GEOFFREY HOYLAND***formerly Headmaster of The Downs School, Colwall.***THE GREAT OUTLAW****7s. 6d. net.**

In every age men have retold the story of Jesus, trying to picture Him as He walked about the lanes of Galilee and the streets of Jerusalem. Mr. Hoyland has once more attempted this difficult but irresistible task. Of particular interest is his effort to draw back the veil from the unrecorded boyhood, where he believes we must look for a clue to the rest of the life. Once again in this new version the story captures the imagination and moves the heart and will.

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**S.C.M. PRESS LTD.,***56 Bloomsbury Street**London, W.C.1***Book Reviews****The Case for Examinations :**

*An account of their place in education and some proposals for their reform. (J. N. Brereton, Cambridge University Press. 8/6).*

In this book the author, who is an Assistant Secretary to the Cambridge University Local Examination Syndicate, does three things. He gives a history of secondary schools examinations in England (including the various Government Reports on the subject), he sets forth his views on the functions of the educational system and the place of examinations therein, and he puts down proposals for reform of the examination system.

In dealing with the question of school examinations, Mr. Brereton clearly realizes the profound effect which examinations have on the work of the school; and the fact that they test the work of the teacher just as much as the work of the pupil. He sees that the examinations tend to cramp the curriculum and put an undue emphasis on academic and written work. He recognizes too the need for the children to apply their theoretical knowledge to the solution of practical problems.

For the reform of the Examination System his main suggestion is that some twenty separate regional Exam-

ining Boards for the School Certificate should be set up, one for every two or three counties, and that every school within a given region should be required to take the examinations of its own region. The control of each Examining Board would be shared by the local university and elected representatives of the teachers; there would be frequent meetings of all teachers and examiners concerned with each subject within each region; and syllabuses would be drawn up nationally by Subject Councils composed of representatives of the Board of Education and of Industry as well as university and school teachers. Every competent teacher would have a turn at examining and would have adequate time away from teaching duties, to do his marking. Mr. Brereton would like to see all school leavers, and not merely those who have had a 'grammar school' type of education, take the School Certificate.

The main advantages of such a reform would be the close co-operation of the teachers in the examining system and the integration of secondary and university education within each region. Many of us however will doubt whether, to attain such integration, examinations need remain; or whether the examination system is either necessary or desirable as a stimulating and controlling force for both pupils and teachers, as Mr. Brereton appears to think.

Other assumptions on the author's part which are open to criticism are: that education is simply the attainment of certain skills and that learning is just the result of practice (it is noticeable that his analogies consist of learning to play the piano, ride a bicycle and solve a quadratic equation, and similar activities); that one of the tasks of the educational system is to select those likely to profit quickly from learning and to discard those unlikely to profit at all; that many of the criticisms of the examination system would disappear with the adoption of the new proposals; that syllabuses should be governed in part at least by what pupils propose to do after taking the examinations.

The author has certainly made a contribution to the discussion on examinations; but it is a contribution which should be considered together with the various recent reports on the detailed working of the examination system on the one hand, and on the other, with accounts of schools, such as the best senior elementary schools to-day, which do good work without the stimulus or control of external examinations at all.

Science teachers will be interested in the criticisms of the comments on the aims of science teaching as outlined in the Spens Report, and others will wish to read the chapter which discusses the Norwood Report.

*E. J. Holmes.*

**The French Revolution. J. M. Thompson. (Basil Blackwell. 536 pp. 32/6).**

An outstanding work on the French Revolution could hardly have appeared at a more appropriate time than the present. The problems of a previous epoch and their attempted solution can rarely serve as a certain guide through the maze of contemporary problems, but readers of discernment will not be disappointed if they approach Mr. Thompson's brilliant work in the hope that he may shed some light upon our present and potential difficulties. He writes of events in France between the calling of the States General in May 1789 and the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, but his mind ranges outside the limits of his immediate documentary sources and gives us a clear impression of the clash of social forces and the interplay of men and events as they move from the realm of consent to coercion. The balance between information and interpretation has been finely kept; the story moves easily from phase to phase, so that we are never overwhelmed by the encyclopaedic knowledge of the author or the scale on which his historic picture is painted.

Writing of Necker's Report on the apportionment of representation in the States General Mr. Thompson says:



'The veto of privilege had been destroyed. A legislature of two Orders had been substituted for one of three Orders. A medieval *Duma* was transformed into a modern Parliament, and the magic of representation turned a people into a nation.' Every electoral assembly with power to select representatives for the States General was entitled to draw up an address to the Crown (*Cahier de doléances*) embodying its complaints and demands. 'There is nothing in the range of historical evidence quite like them,' we are told. 'They reveal with equal clearness the intelligent middle-class visualizing its reform programme, and the deep discontents of the working class, without whose driving force that programme could never have been carried through.'

Mr. Thompson is at pains to correct the popular notion as to the part played by both clergy and nobility during this period of flux and change. The unanalysed categories of the school text book appear in a different light after his detailed analysis of their real constitution. If the deputies of the Third Estate were largely derived from the middle class, the church was largely represented by the parish clergy, for two hundred and five incumbents (*curés*) went to Versailles and only forty-two bishops. 'Among them might be found men of learning and affairs. They were at least as likely to have read the philosophers and the economists as most of their lay brethren; and more likely to know at first hand the grievances of the poor.'

'It has become traditional to think of the nobility of '89', says Mr. Thompson, 'as standing for nothing better than outworn loyalties and indefensible privileges—for the feudal

rights, social monopolies and fiscal exemptions, in revenge for which the Revolution persecuted their orders... But the old regime was falling to pieces about them and many of them knew that reform was inevitable.'

Not least among Mr. Thompson's virtues is his ability to clothe in flesh and blood the chief actors in this political drama—Bailly, who 'at the dangerous age of fifty-two', had made 'a fool of himself in politics and in matrimony'; Robespierre, 'the angular and aggressive spokesman of an extravagant liberalism'; Danton, who 'lived his public life, as he lived his private life, in a spirit of generous ruffianism'; and Louis XVI, 'whose dullness concealed a deep duplicity'—these move in his pages as real persons both influencing and influenced by the great events of their time.

Speaking of our own time in his 'Practical Preface', Mr. Thompson says, 'It is possible, as it was never before, to see the national character and institutions in the crucible and to assay their worth. The present crisis ends one epoch of national greatness; does it begin another? The study of the French Revolution may suggest an answer.' And from this point of view Mr. Thompson has himself made an adequate study not merely more easily possible but more potentially productive than it could have hoped to be before he produced this book.

David Jordan

### The Development of British Universities. By Sir Ernest Simon. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1/-).

It is interesting to note from how many angles the many-faceted prob-

em presented by the modern universities can be approached. This useful pamphlet begins with finance and ends with suggested topics for consideration by the reformers. The author sees that 'two things are required: a considerable expansion of university teaching and research, and more positive planning in the field of university work'; and he finds 'widespread interest in these matters'. A rather recent interest, one imagines, but it is good to be assured that it is spreading. The need for national planning is urgent and it is right to point out that centres of general reference and guidance do not exist: 'There is no national body responsible for studying the work of the universities as a whole and for considering how far all essential fields of thought are covered'. The same lack of effective interest is felt even in the application of finance. Hitherto this kind of omission does not appear to have struck anyone forcibly enough to awaken a murmur. But now new responsibilities must be faced and new machinery invented.

Turning in those directions which offer the greatest opportunities, the author sees the universities devoting themselves to vast schemes of scientific expansion with aeronautics to the fore. Huge sums will have to be appropriated and will no doubt be well, if not wisely, spent. How much, one asks with some anxiety, is going to be left for Arts? And where does provision for the liberal education come in? What, indeed, of education itself in all this talk of Research? The pamphlet suggests such anxieties by its silence; though it is clear from the appendix of 'examples of the need for planning' that they are not absent from the author's mind.

P. M. J.

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# THE NEW ERA

## IN HOME AND SCHOOL

PRICE 6d.

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Volume 25, Number 5

### EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES—I.

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## The Development of Public Education in the United States

Arch D. Heck

Department of Education, Ohio State University,  
Columbus, Ohio

UNLIKE public education in European countries, public education in the United States is not a national system. Each of the 48 states of the United States is a law unto itself in educational matters. In many respects one might almost say that each community within a state has its own system of public education. The state may certificate teachers, but the community is free to select, as it pleases, from among those persons certificated by the state. Moreover, the local community is free to levy taxes, build school houses, provide equipment, select its own textbooks, supervise its own teaching staff with little, and in most states with no control exercised by state school authorities.

This difference between public education in the United States and public education in various European countries represents not so much a difference in the peoples of the United States and the peoples of Europe as a difference in the origin of their educational systems. When the peoples of Europe became interested in public education, they were already organized nations. The United States developed piecemeal. As each small group of colonists settled, they began to put into operation the ideas of education brought from their home countries, adapted to the conditions of living they faced in the new country. The pilgrims on the New England coast felt the need for educating all children so they could read the

scriptures and interpret the civil laws of the land whereas the conception of universal education never entered the heads of the leaders of the Virginia colony, all 'gentlemen' of the old world. Interestingly enough, the people's idea, represented by the Pilgrims, prevailed.

This colonial development of education in the United States largely accounts for the development of a public education within the United States that is not a *system* but rather a community of systems within each of the 48 states. There was no full-fledged central government to give schools to the people.

The first compulsory education law to be enacted in America was adopted by the Massachusetts colony in 1642. It applied to all children in the colony; enforcement was in the hands of the selectmen of the town. So, despite the fact that the Massachusetts colony was small and in no sense similar to the present state of Massachusetts, this first effort upon the part of a group of communities to legislate educationally for all was the beginning of the American concept of education as a *state* function rather than a strictly local or a federal function. This law required that children should be enabled to 'read and understand principles of religion and the capital laws of the country'. The two ideas of self-government and of freedom of worship demanded educated people.

This first law of 1642, however, was not practicable, since it did not provide schools. In 1647, a law was passed that required every community of 50 families or more to employ a teacher for the instruction of children; also it required every community of 100 families or more to establish a grammar school. This grammar school was a secondary school; it was succeeded by the academy and later by the high school.

These two laws laid the groundwork for the later development of our American System of Public Education. They recognized that education was essential for the best development of the individual and for the maintenance of a good social order. They also recognized the principle that the group can be taxed for the purpose of providing a system of education for all.

When the Federal constitution allowed education to remain a function of the states, new states, as they joined the original 13, provided in their constitutions for the education of their peoples. These states in turn fought the battle for compulsory education, for public support of schools through taxation, for the elimination of sectarianism, for state aid to local schools, and for state control and supervision of schools.

The battle for compulsory school attendance legislation was one of the most colourful as well as one of the most significant. Public schools had been established; they had been provided at public expense;



and they had been made free. Still great numbers of children were out of school and illiteracy was great. Early in the nineteenth century many people were saying that, if we were to have a government of the people we must do more than provide free schools. Yet many parents did not recognize the need for educating their children; and many children, not controlled by parents, refused to take advantage of the educational programme provided.

In 1852 the state of Massachusetts passed the first compulsory school attendance law. This law required all children of the ages 8 to 14 to attend school 12 weeks out of each year; six of these weeks had to be consecutive. This was the first clash in a battle that was waged in the 48 states for a period of 78 years before every section of continental United States had legislation requiring children of certain ages to attend school. Although the principle of compulsory school attendance has now been universally accepted, the battle still continues. The issues being debated will be referred to later.

No other state passed compulsory school attendance legislation until 1867. During the decade of the 70's, fourteen states passed such legislation. Ohio was typical. Its first compulsory school attendance legislation came into being in 1877, though as early as 1835 the Western Literary Institute had attempted to secure a compulsory law. Two years later Calvin Stowe, who had just returned from an educational tour of Europe, proposed a compulsory school attendance law similar to one in operation in Germany. Stowe's proposal was defeated. During the following four decades, however, continuous attempts were made to secure the passage of an attendance law. The Ohio State Teacher's Association favoured such a law; school executives favoured it; the state school commissioners recommended it; but the Ohio legislature, and the Senate particularly, opposed it. By 1877 popular sentiment favoured it. The Senate opposition recognized the swing in sentiment and came out in favour of the bill. In doing so, however, this opposition Senate group so emasculated the bill that it might as well have not been passed. The requirements were meagre; no penalties were

provided; and no means of enforcement allowed. The story of Ohio was duplicated in state after state. A survey by the Bureau of Education at Washington, D.C., in 1889 showed clearly that the state compulsory school attendance laws, then in operation in 24 of the now 48 states, were non-effective; the percentage of enrolment and of attendance figures had made slight, if any, increase since the passage of the new attendance legislation.

Despite the fact that by the opening of the twentieth century 32 states had accepted the idea of compulsory school attendance, the opposition forces waged a vigorous battle. One State Superintendent of Public Instruction declared, 'I want no one telling me how I shall clothe, feed, and educate my children'. Some believed that education was a religious problem and, therefore, a matter for the church to handle. Some saw in such legislation the hideous form of autocracy.

Some educators insisted that this legislation worked a hardship upon the poor; the argument seemed to be that such laws would bring the rich and the poor indiscriminately together and that 'shame, pride, self-respect close and double lock the doors of the public school against the children of the wretchedly poor', so we unnecessarily mete out very severe punishment to the children of the poor when we force them to attend school along with those of better circumstance. And so the battle for compulsory schooling continued. Ground was gained at one point and lost at another; the school year would be lengthened but the number of years of compulsory schooling reduced. A law with high requirements would be passed but it would provide for no means of enforcement.

But the people themselves wanted their children to have opportunities that society had denied them. They recognized in education a means whereby their children might hope to gain those opportunities. Great groups of citizens, moreover, realized that in a land where each person was allowed the ballot and could have a part in determining the laws that governed his actions, education was an essential equipment for her citizens.

And so the first two decades of the twentieth century saw a gradual

increase in the means of enforcing school attendance legislation, saw more states enacting such legislation, and saw increasing standards set by this legislation. By the opening of the First World War in 1914, there were still six states without compulsory attendance legislation; not till 1918 did the last state, Mississippi, pass such a law; and the law did not become really effective until 1930.

Each of the 48 states thus have adopted compulsory school attendance requirements. These requirements vary greatly. Five states require attendance at school until 18 years of age, whereas others require attendance only until 14. Some states require children to start to school at 6 years of age; other states not until 8 or 9 years of age.

Several interesting trends are apparent in compulsory school attendance legislation. Compulsory ages in practically all the early legislation were from 8 to 14 years of age; the length of the compulsory school year was usually 12 weeks. Massachusetts is illustrative of the changes that have taken place in most states. The original requirements remained unchanged in the Massachusetts law until 1873; these made the child's compulsory school life 72 weeks. In 1873 the ages became 8-12 and the school year 20 weeks, making the school life period 80 weeks. In 1874 this school life period became 120 weeks; in 1890, it became 180 weeks; in 1898 it was 224 weeks; in 1924 it was 288 weeks, and has not been changed since. Other states have had a similar experience. Ohio's compulsory school period is the longest of any state; it requires 384 weeks; the law requires attendance from 6 to 18 years of age for a 32-week year. Ohio is the only state with such an age range. And so a battle is being waged over the problem of age limits. Are the limits 6 to 18 ideal?

This one problem raises most of the educational problems of to-day. What is education? Is it life or preparation for life? What should be taught? Shall the school be largely academic or should it attempt to meet each of the life problems facing each youth? Those who oppose these upper age limits tend to see education as academic and as a preparation for life; those



no urge the extension of upper limits tend to think of schooling life and as an attempt to help each youth meet his real life problems. Clearly this upper limit of 18 years or a further extension of that age limit beyond 18 can hardly be justified as long as schooling means the traditional academic programme that most schools now provide. The decision as to how long the school year should be will depend in part upon the conception of education that is generally approved and put into practice.

Under what conditions may children of compulsory school ages be exempted from attending? In the early legislation, these exemptions were both numerous and indefinite. Exemption from school used to be an almost universal exemption; only a few states now allow it; local districts, instead, are required to provide transportation. Poverty is another very common exemption; now responsibilities are being laid upon the district for making economically possible for poverty-stricken parents to keep their children in school by clothing the child, feeding the child, or even compensating the parent to the extent necessary to keep the child in school. Physical disability and mental disability are still almost universal exemptions; these exemptions, however, are being drastically curtailed; wherever special education programmes have been established that meet the needs of these children, they are no longer exempt. Equivalent instruction has always been and still is a universal exemption to attendance at public schools; the battle on this exemption centres around the word equivalent. Formerly it had very little meaning; gradually, means are being devised to make sure that the instruction to be substituted for instruction in the public schools will be equivalent.

Strictly speaking, the compulsory school attendance laws in the United States are definitely applicable only to children of elementary school age. Thirty-one states have an upper compulsory age limit of 18; all but one of these states permit children to be certificated to work at 14. In these 30 states, therefore, compulsory education is required for approximately the first eight grades. Even in the five states with an upper age limit of

18 years, the compulsory law only applies until 14 in three states and until 16 in two, since young people may be certificated to work at these latter ages. Secondary education, therefore, is not compulsory in the United States. The most that can be said is that it is compulsory until 16 years of age in two states; this means through the tenth grade for most children. Three other states compel attendance at school until 15 years of age or through the ninth grade. The remaining 43 states compel attendance until the fourteenth year or less; this is equivalent to the completion of the eighth grade or less.

The actual situation, however, is better than the legal aspects of the problem, as stated above, would indicate. Recent estimates<sup>1</sup> place the number of young people enrolled in the secondary school grades, 9 to 12, at about 70 per cent. of the entire group of young people of ages 14 to 18; these ages are normal for the four high school grades. Thus despite the fact that legal compulsory laws do not apply to many of these young people, a large proportion of the high school age group are, nevertheless, attending secondary schools. Some of this attendance is due to parental pressure. Most parents think of the law as requiring attendance until 16 or above not until only 14 years of age. Even if they properly understand the law, they do not want their children to work at these younger ages. Much more is likely due to a social attitude that has developed among these young people; they feel the need for further education and want to continue in school.

For many years these compulsory school attendance laws were not well enforced with reference to the Negro children in many parts of the United States. In 1928, the Director of Attendance in a city of 500,000 population stated frankly that were he to enforce the attendance of all Negro children of school age, the city would be utterly unable to house them. However, this older trend is being reversed. At least the proportion of Negro youths that enrol in school is rapidly approaching the proportion of white youths enrolled. In 1938 the percentage of all children aged 5-17 enrolled was

84.4. In 1930 it had been 81.3. In 1939-40 the percentage of Negro children enrolled was 85.9; in 1930 it had been only 78.6. Whether or not the compulsory school attendance laws are being enforced more vigorously for the Negroes than formerly, or whether they are voluntarily seeking more education, at least a much larger proportion of them are being enrolled. Likewise the regularity of attendance of the Negroes has increased. In 1939-40, 80.4 per cent. of the Negroes enrolled were in regular attendance; against 72.1 per cent. in 1929-30. Corresponding percentages for all children in the United States were 85.8 in 1938, and 82.8 in 1930.

Compulsory school attendance in the United States has won universal acceptance in each of the 48 states. American public education continues to move in the direction of giving equal education opportunity to all; this involves making education wholly free, giving freedom of choice in terms of both interests and abilities, and providing programmes of study that will give an opportunity to the student to make such choices. No one would dare say these goals have been achieved or are even near to being achieved; present efforts, however, point in the right direction.

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# Education in the Cities

Henry H. Hill

IN the United States cities range in population from five thousand up to several million. There is a total of 407 cities with a population of 25,000 or more, of which 43 are above 200,000 and 5 above 1,000,000. According to the census of 1940 Pittsburgh has a population of 671,659 and is the tenth largest city in the United States. This discussion will be largely in terms of Pittsburgh where the range of school opportunities and services is superior to that found in the average city.

In contrast to trends during the first two or three decades of the twentieth century, many of the large cities, especially the older cities located in the East, are now approaching the end of their population growth, and some have already experienced a decline. One major factor in this trend is the growing trek to the suburban and rural areas which have become increasingly attractive as the inventions of science have removed former disadvantages of rural life. This migration does not necessarily affect adversely the entire metropolitan community, but it does have rather serious consequences with regard to the political entity known as the city which, in most instances, is not free to annex adjacent areas. Hence most of the larger cities, dependent for their financial support in large measure upon property taxes, are facing a somewhat difficult period of adjustment and contraction quite different from the period of the 1920's which was one of rapid expansion of educational facilities and services.

During the past twenty years many of the smaller cities of from ten to fifty thousand have contributed much to the development of new techniques and approaches to both old and new educational problems. Many of these are independent residential districts adjacent to large cities but free from many of their problems. They are usually relatively well supported financially and have the mobility and freedom to experiment along sound lines which is characteristic of a smaller school system.

The best aim of the American school system is expressed in Abraham Lincoln's: 'an unfettered

start and a whole chance in the race of life' for all normal youth. Practically applied, this means mass education and only in the light of this ideal can American education be understood.

In Pittsburgh approximately two-thirds of all the children are enrolled in public schools and one-third in private or Roman Catholic schools. Thus a considerably higher percentage attend private or Catholic schools in Pittsburgh than in the nation at large where the most recent figures indicate that 90.6 per cent. of all educables attend public school.

The legislature of Pennsylvania, acting under constitutional authority, enacts laws governing the management of the Pittsburgh Public Schools, delegating authority in large degree to the fifteen member Board of Public Education appointed, five each biennium, by the sixteen judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County.<sup>1</sup> Including Pittsburgh, there are only six cities in the United States with school boards of ten or more, as contrasted with the typical city board of education of from five to nine members. The Pittsburgh Board receives approximately 90 per cent. of its annual budget of approximately fourteen million dollars from local property taxes and almost all of the remaining 10 per cent. from the State of Pennsylvania. In many other states a city like Pittsburgh would receive from 20 to 40 per cent. of its support from the state. Federal support rarely reaches one per cent. of current expenditures in any city.

## Types of School

The schools have a plant with an original valuation of sixty-four million dollars, located in 129 different school centres. The enrolment has dropped from approximately 100,000 to 80,000 within the past three years on account of the effect of the war and also of the declining birth rate of the late twenties and early thirties. It offers to everyone continuous educa-

<sup>1</sup> The Pittsburgh Board of Education is not typical as far as its method of selection is concerned. In the cities, School Boards are usually elected by popular vote at general or special elections.—ED.

Superintendent of Schools,  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

tion from age 4 to 21, *i.e.* from the kindergarten through the senior high school or vocational school. The typical child will spend from one to two years in kindergarten, enter the first grade at about six, complete the elementary school at the end of the sixth grade, enter a junior high school where he will complete grades seven, eight, and nine, and then be promoted to the senior high school embracing grades ten, eleven, and twelve, or, if he prefers, he will be sent to one of the eight vocational high schools. In Pittsburgh and other industrial centres approximately 20 per cent. of the high school graduates enter college or university. In cities which are predominately residential the percentage is much higher, running in exceptional cities to as high as 80 per cent. Of twenty-nine high school centres in Pittsburgh eight are junior-senior high schools, an arrangement which houses grades seven to twelve in the same building and is largely dictated by convenience and economy. Pittsburgh is organized on what is called the K-6-3-3 plan, but the prevailing pattern in many other cities is still K-8-4. In most large cities, however, there will be found variant patterns even within the same city system.

During 1938 and 1939 New York City had enrolments above 10,000 in some of the largest high schools, but in 1943 the largest high school in New York City enrolled 6,453 and there were five others which enrolled more than 5,000. The high schools in Pittsburgh range in size from an enrolment of approximately 1,000 up to an enrolment of slightly less than 3,000 as compared with a pre-war enrolment of approximately 4,000. In the United States as a whole the average high school would enrol from 100 to 200 students. This should be mentioned to prevent a misconception that the high school of 2,000 to 5,000 enrolment is a typical American high school.

## Staffing Large Schools

Visitors to the United States frequently ask if an individual student isn't completely lost in a high school of several thousand and if, in general, a high school of



several thousand isn't an undesirable development. Perhaps a description of the administrative setup in a Pittsburgh high school, where the high school enrolments are about average for the larger cities, will give one a better background for forming judgment. In a typical high school here the principal (head master) is the administrative head of the school and as such is completely responsible for its operation. There is a vice-principal who assumes such responsibilities as may be delegated by the principal, frequently taking over the problems in connection with attendance and discipline. There is a counsellor, specially trained, who is generally responsible for both group and individual counselling and guidance services. There is a girls' adviser who is especially interested in the personal health and welfare of girls and in all their adjustment problems. In addition, there is usually a director of school activities who has major responsibility for the inauguration, promotion, and direction of a host of miscellaneous student activities, including plays and auditorium programmes.

These five persons have no teaching duties, devoting their full time to their particular responsibilities. In addition, every student in the high school has a home room or a report room teacher who takes considerable personal interest in him. It is admitted that an individual who is one of 200 in a small high school has a better opportunity to know his teachers personally and to feel more definitely a member of the group. On the other hand, the individual student in the large high school has available a greater range of specialized services and advice and certainly a greater range of subjects from which to choose. In the larger high schools, too, you may expect to find such facilities as swimming pools, specialized gymnasiums, and all of the auxiliary facilities characteristic of the larger plant.

In Pittsburgh prior to the war there was only one nursery school as part of the public school system, but other day care and extended day care centres are being established. In many other cities, especially where the defence plants have called largely upon the women, as many as thirty or forty day care centres have been established.

### Staffing the Administration

In cities the administration of the school system is very largely delegated to the superintendent of schools, with the notable exception that in slightly less than half of the larger cities there may be one or more of the following executives directly responsible to the Board: business manager, superintendent of buildings, superintendent of supplies, secretary, controller. The superintendent of schools frequently has from one to several assistant or associate superintendents and sometimes a deputy superintendent. In Pittsburgh there is one associate superintendent in charge of high schools, which include all junior and senior and vocational high schools, and an associate superintendent in charge of elementary schools, which include nursery schools and kindergartens. In contrast to this, Cincinnati has two assistant superintendents, one in charge of administration and the other in charge of instruction, in each case for the entire school system. In some cities there is a district superintendent who may have immediate supervision of a particular geographical area within the city, but the recent tendency has been away from this form of organization.

In addition, there are what might be called service departments which may be responsible directly to the superintendent of schools or to one or more of the assistant superintendents. In Pittsburgh there is the Department of Compulsory Attendance which includes a staff of 49 persons, more than half of whom are known as home and school visitors. The home and school visitors are a newer development away from the old-time attendance or truant officer. They are as well educated as teachers, but represent much of the social service point of view.

Another such service agency is the Department of School Health Service which in Pittsburgh includes a staff of about 120 doctors, dentists, nurses, and specialists. This department has a medical diagnostic clinic, an X-ray clinic, an eye clinic, and 14 dental units. Nearly all children are given physical examinations annually. Those needing more than a routine physical examination are referred to the clinics. This department is supported jointly by the City of

Pittsburgh and by the Board of Public Education, and also provides most health services for the Roman Catholic children. This latter practice is not found in all cities.

Still another service organization is the Department of Curriculum Study and Research with a staff of five persons. This department publishes bi-monthly bulletins for the use of teachers and operates an educational clinic to which are referred children having learning difficulties. This department uses such machines as the Telebinocular and Ophthalmograph for diagnosis of special reading difficulties. It edits and directs the publication of all courses of study and, in addition, conducts research in curricular problems. From the instructional point of view, it is chiefly responsible for the selection of supplies and text-books.

Among other departments located in the Administration Building are those of the Director of Commercial Education, of Home Economics, of Physical Education, of Special Schools, of Kindergartens, of Elementary Education, of Art, of Social Studies, of Music, and so on. Directors are staff officers but with some line duties.

In the present discussion there has been omitted any description of the purely business agencies of the Board of Public Education. In many cities these departments are very adequately staffed and contribute much to the smooth functioning of the schools and to the long-term planning of proper buildings and equipment.

### Curriculum Trends

In the United States there has been a considerable trend for some years to provide what has been known as an integrated programme in the elementary schools or an activity programme or a child-centred programme which tends to lodge chief responsibility for all the experiences of children in the elementary school largely in one teacher's hands. This is still the trend throughout the cities, especially in the first three grades.

Much of the curriculum is required by state law, but there is still considerable freedom in the local district or city. The actual courses of study are for the most part worked out by committees of teachers frequently under the guidance of a director of curriculum



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members of his professional staff. Much use is made of the best work already being done in a city system. Occasionally competent college or university professors are used in as consultants in the development of these courses. For considerable work involving weeks or months or even years, the new or revised courses of study are put into effect gradually. The success of the new courses depends to a considerable degree upon the principals of the individual schools and on the competency and open-mindedness of the teaching staff. In most cities teachers have a great deal of freedom in the methods used, and it should not be inferred that every single teacher in a city system uses in full any course of study which has been developed. Teachers are encouraged to visit, to attend summer school, to take extension courses during the regular term, to travel, to belong to professional organizations, and, to the extent possible, to participate in local community activities. Children in city schools in America for the most part have a curriculum until they reach the tenth grade or the first year of junior high school. What is

sometimes called the 'core curriculum' in the junior high school usually constitutes half to three-fourths of the subjects taken during grades seven, eight, and nine. In Pittsburgh in a junior high school a boy would normally take one half-year each of woodwork, printing, sheet metal, machine shop, and mechanical drawing. Girls would choose courses in home economics, but during this war period many of them are also choosing applied technical courses which until now had been chiefly confined to boys. In the senior high school (which covers grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve, or a more modern development is confined to grades ten, eleven, and twelve) there is a much greater freedom of choice. The two fields most commonly held as constants are English and the social sciences. Those students who expect to enter college must, of course, plan early in high school to meet the college entrance requirements. During the past twenty years these have been made much more elastic, so much so that in some states the requirement for college entrance is merely that a boy or girl be a graduate of an approved high school. Thus in

certain instances students may actually enter a college or university without having studied geometry or much algebra. In actual practice however, students without mathematics would be sharply limited in their choice of colleges.

The question is sometimes raised whether academic standards have been lowered because of the mass education programme of the United States. In terms of academic achievement and mastery of abstract processes the standards for the average boy and girl have certainly been reduced. There is little evidence to indicate that there are not just as many thousands of bright boys and girls who still measure up to the high academic standards of the past, but, when all the children of all the people are included in the high schools, the standards must become flexible and the curriculum broader and more extensive or it is meaningless to a great many pupils.

Ideally, in Pittsburgh, we would like to provide for each normal boy and girl those experiences and subjects which provide him with an achievable goal. There are offered in the Pittsburgh high schools and vocational high schools enough



separate and distinct subjects and courses to occupy one person for a period of twenty or twenty-five years if he took four subjects per year. This represents one system's effort to provide achievable goals for all.

### Teachers' Conditions of Work

In most of the cities salaries of teachers are higher than in the rural and small town areas. In Pittsburgh elementary teachers at present may reach the maximum of \$2,550 annually, junior high school teachers \$3,000, and senior high school teachers \$3,300. These salaries are somewhat better than those of the average city, but not as high as some. Tenure is secure in almost all of the larger cities. In Pittsburgh a teacher is employed for a period of two years, at the end of which, if her services are satisfactory, she is given a contract which gives her tenure until the retirement age of sixty-six. She may be discharged only if the superintendent of schools prefers charges before a public meeting of the Board of Public Education in which she is represented by counsel. She may then appeal the case to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and in turn through three successively higher courts. Some administrators and rather competent laymen who believe in the general principle of tenure think recent legal enactments have made it almost impossible to eliminate a weak and incompetent teacher.

There has been some tendency in the cities during the past few years toward the development of teachers' unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. In some instances these unions have become pressure groups advocating better salaries, lighter loads, and more privileges for teachers, and have, in effect, become somewhat arrayed against the administration. However, in a majority of the cities the dominant classroom teaching group is still more or less a professional association, not pre-eminently insistent on teachers' rights, but alert to secure legitimate benefits and to protect teachers against unfair treatment.

### Education of the Negroes

In Pittsburgh there are approximately seventy thousand Negro citizens, a considerable percentage

of whom came north during 1919 and 1920 at a time when there was a tremendous labour shortage after the First World War. There are no segregated schools for Negroes in Pittsburgh or in most of the northern cities. The substantial effect of segregation is obtained through the natural tendency fostered by the *mores* of the community for Negroes to live together in certain areas. Thus in Pittsburgh there are two or three schools where the attendance would be 80 or 90 per cent. Negro, and in other areas of the city the attendance might be as high as 50 per cent. Jewish or 50 per cent. Italian or 30 per cent. Polish. In Pittsburgh there are only a few Negro teachers, but they are eligible to take the examinations and be placed on the eligibility list without any discrimination. In St. Louis, a city slightly larger than Pittsburgh, there are segregated schools for Negroes and there are Negro teachers and principals in all these schools. This is the prevailing pattern in all the Southern states and in many of the border states. Under this pattern all positions in the Negro schools are filled with Negroes.

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### Various Amenities

Among the special features characteristic of Pittsburgh and other cities are the evening schools in which normally 30,000 youths and adults are enrolled. The evening schools embrace everything from the standard evening high school where a regular high school diploma may be obtained, to a recreation class in swimming. They are entirely free to the public. Most cities have similar provisions except that nominal or regulatory fees may be charged.

In Pittsburgh there are twenty-seven indoor swimming pools. Every boy and girl in grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve must have at least one period of swimming weekly. Most of these swimming pools are open to the general public during the summer vacation, and in many cases two or three times weekly throughout the regular school term. The provisions for swimming in Pittsburgh are above the average city, although Detroit, Chicago, and a few other cities have comparable facilities.

A unique feature of Pittsburgh is the Frick Educational Commission which disperses funds left by Her-



ay Frick, one of the very successful coal and steel men of a generation ago. Each year from two hundred to three hundred Pittsburgh teachers are granted scholarships to attend summer school at college or university, and, in some instances, other kinds of institutions. More recently they have provided scholarships for key members of the Pittsburgh staff so that they may spend a month visiting other cities throughout the United States. Prior to World War II scholarships were occasionally granted to teachers for study and travel in Europe.

### Post-War Problems

Problems which cities of the United States face in the post-war period include the perennial problem of adequate financial support made more difficult by the war-time taxes imposed by the Federal Government; the provisions of more extended nursery and kindergarten facilities, especially in underprivileged areas; the development of a large programme of rehabilitation in which the public schools could have a large share; the revision of high school courses of study and curricula to provide education which is more directly functional for universal education; the development of a very extensive programme of retraining soldiers and war workers who must seek different employment; and the development of public junior col-

leges or technical institutes for youths of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty who do not belong in the ordinary college. Under pre-war conditions probably not more than a bare majority of the brightest boys and girls entered college or university. Necessarily in the present war we are going to lose some of our ablest citizens, and it is all the more important in the future that plans be effected which will permit every potential leader to have the fullest advantage of college or university education. In all probability this will be financed by the Federal Government.

If, as now seems true, the number one post-war problem will be that of employment, it is to be hoped that the business and industrial world may devote some of its best talent and energy and considerable money to the development of new types of jobs and labour which will provide satisfactorily for the common labourers who have hitherto in times of economic depression gone on the dole or into the ranks of W.P.A. The common labourer is the expendable of the modern industrial and business enterprise, but he is not expendable in a political democracy or a republic. Industry and business in co-operation with education ought to be able to provide work for every normal individual. Many of the wastages of manufacturing processes have been eliminated, but we have yet hardly touched the prob-

lem of enabling relatively slow and inefficient human beings to contribute all they can to the common good.

In conclusion, it may be emphasized that a system of mass education to be successful must include a host of opportunities and experiences not considered education by past generations. Work experience must be provided within the public school system or by a liaison arrangement with business and industry. On the other hand, book subjects must for many thousands of young people be sharply revised within their level of ability and achievement. Mathematics, for example, to be functional in a mass school, must range from the usual scholarly courses for the brightest boys and girls to the barest minimum which the dullest normal child can master or appreciate.

It is no wonder that the American public school system is criticized for its failures because it has undertaken to do so much. Its ideal, never to be completely realized, perhaps, must nonetheless continue to be the extension of unlimited educational opportunity to all children.

That nation which risked its whole future on the premise that all men are created free and equal cannot hold back in following this ideal to its ultimate goal that all men shall have free and equal opportunity to develop to the fullest their talents and capabilities.

## Administration of Rural Education in the United States

arton Morgan

**President of the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association and Director of Teacher Education, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa**

RURAL and urban education in the United States are a part of the same public school system. They are administered by the same state laws and are under the general direction of the same chief state school officers. They follow similar courses of study and use similar teaching procedures. They may, and generally do, use the same text-books and other instructional materials, but they are under compulsion to do so.

The rural school's most distinctive feature is its small size. It has small enrolment, a small plant, and a small number of teachers, often not more than one. Farm children usually constitute a large proportion of the enrolment in one-

teacher and consolidated<sup>1</sup> schools, except in small villages in industrial areas.

Rural education has many distinctive problems beyond its concern with sound educational principles, procedures and contents. Some of these are: planning curricula and methods which fit the experiences and needs of rural pupils and which are suitable for small schools; the reorganization of administrative units for rural education, the consolidation of rural schools, transportation of rural pupils, the education of teachers for rural schools, the education of administrators and supervisors for

rural schools, securing adequate financial support for rural education and many other subsidiary problems.<sup>2</sup>

### Organization of Rural Education

RURAL schools, like urban schools, are organized into various units for administration, for financial support, and for pupil attendance. There are ordinarily three levels of organization for administration and financial support—local, county, and state.

*The State as a Unit*—Theoretically and constitutionally, the obligation of support and the control of public

<sup>1</sup> A consolidated school is an area school set up to replace several small schools.

<sup>2</sup> Committee on Programme and Policy of the Department of Rural Education. A Policy for Rural Education in the United States. Washington, D.C. National Education Association, 1940.



education in this country rest with the states. Actually, the major part of both support and control rests with the local districts. The state, however, assumes certain responsibilities and performs certain functions that could not be taken care of nearly as well by local units.

The powers related to public education vested in the state government are administered by a chief state school officer. In about half of the states these officers have on their staffs one or more persons with the title of 'supervisor of rural education'. In the rest of the states the rural schools are given some attention by staff members who supervise elementary education in both rural and urban areas.

*The County as a Unit*—The place of the county in the organization of public education in the nation varies more than any other unit. The county serves as an intermediate unit of administration and finance in 28 states and as a local unit in 20 states.

Where the counties serve as local units there is a county board of education and a county superintendent of schools, or their equivalent. The county school officials have much, if not complete, power over all the rural schools within the area and control most of the local school funds. In the twenty states organized on this plan, four states include the urban schools with the rural, but in the remaining 16 states are excluded.

In the typical county organized as an intermediate unit, there is a county superintendent of schools and there may or may not be a county board of education.

*The Local District as an Administrative Unit*—The tradition of local control of education in the United States of America is very strong. It should be noted that of the 127,244 school districts, or administrative units, in the United States, 119,355 are found in the district unit states. The average size of these districts is 18 square miles in the district unit states and 377 square miles in the county unit states.<sup>1</sup>

*Local Attendance Areas*—There are several types of rural school attendance areas. The most common of these are the one- or two-teacher schools, the town and village schools, and the consolidated

schools. In the district unit states these attendance areas may also be administrative units, but it is important to distinguish between administrative units and attendance areas.

The one- and two-teacher schools are nearly always located in the open country and in unincorporated villages. They are found largely in the Middle West and in the South. The typical one-teacher school enrolls twenty pupils, and the two-teacher school about fifty-seven pupils. These schools usually teach all the subjects taught in the first eight grades of an elementary school. The number of classes each teacher must meet daily is very large, and the number of pupils in each class is very small. The per pupil cost of instruction is high, and the teachers are the most poorly paid of any teachers in the nation.

Towns and villages, of which there are 13,288 with populations under 2,000 in the nation, constitute local school attendance areas in all the states and administrative units in the district unit states. Most towns and villages offer high school work in addition to the work in the elementary grades. The programme is often organized on what is known as the 6-6 plan—six years of elementary school work and six years of secondary school work. Schools in towns and villages also provide high school opportunities for pupils completing the work in the one-teacher and two-teacher schools. As a general rule the tuition costs of these pupils are paid by the local districts in which the pupils reside. The graduates of these rural secondary schools are usually admitted to state institutions of higher learning without an entrance examination.

There are about 17,600 rural high schools in the nation, enrolling more than 2,200,000 pupils. The number of teachers in these rural high schools usually ranges from three to ten, and 50 per cent. of the schools enrol 125 pupils or less.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt but that rural people appreciate the value of high school education as much as do urban. Such differences as are found in the percentages attending are due to the difficulties and costs in providing high school facilities.

*The Consolidated School*—The

consolidation of rural schools making considerable progress in the nation. It is, perhaps, the best solution of the problem of creating satisfactory attendance areas. The term 'consolidation', as it is applied to rural education, is defined differently among the states. In general, it is used to designate practices in the uniting and centralizing of local school districts. Thus it creates larger attendance areas and, in district unit states, larger administrative units as well.

Perhaps a better concept of consolidated schools can be given by describing these schools in a rural state like Iowa. A consolidated district in this state by law must comprise not less than sixteen square miles of contiguous territory. The average area of a consolidated district for the state is 26.5 square miles, and the range is from 16 to 72. Children who live outside an incorporated town or more than one mile from the school are transported at public expense. The school generally includes both elementary and secondary grades. It is formed by the union of several (about six on an average) one-teacher rural schools and may or may not include an incorporated town. Voters of the district elect a board of five directors at large for terms of three years. The school building is erected on a plot of ground containing at least five acres. There are 385 consolidated schools in the state; forty-two of them are located in the open country and the rest are centred about a town or village. Data on 32 districts for the school year 1935-36 show that 40,929 pupils were transported to and from school at a median cost of \$26.70 per pupil.

The trend in the movement toward the consolidation of schools in the nation is indicated by the fact that in 1926 there were 161,531 one-teacher schools and 13,584 consolidated schools, and that in 1940 there were 113,600 one-teacher schools and about 25,000 consolidated schools. The number of school buses increased from 58,011 in 1929-30 to 93,306 in 1940-41, and the number of pupils transported increased from 1,902,000 to 4,141,000. The maintenance of hostels near public elementary and secondary schools for children from remote places has never been practiced to any large extent in the country.

<sup>1</sup> Deffenbaugh, Walter S., and Covert, Timon. *School Administrative Units with Special Reference to the County Unit*. Washington, D.C. United States Government Printing Office, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Chapman, Paul. *Guidance Programmes for Rural High Schools*. Bulletin 203, Vocational Division, Washington, D.C. United States Office of Education, 1940.



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The power of consolidated schools to attract and hold high school students compares favourably with that of urban schools and is very superior to that of the one-teacher schools.

### Financing Rural Education

THE rural schools in the United States of America are the least satisfactorily financed of all the educational institutions in the nation. In 1940 the average current expenditure per pupil was \$66 in rural schools and \$97 in urban schools.<sup>1</sup> The rural schools, like the urban schools, are financed by state and local funds with a trace of federal funds. Some states with a large number of rural administrative units provide a very small amount of state aid. Thus the difference in the taxable wealth of the local districts leads to great inequalities of opportunities for the children in those districts.

For a period of about twenty-five years there has been an effort to increase the amount of federal aid for the local public schools. The main argument for federal aid is that there is great inequality of wealth per child among the states, and, consequently, great inequality of educational opportunity and great inequality of burden. The principal argument against it is the fear of federal control. It appears, however, that federal aid without undue control must come eventually. When it does come the rural schools will be benefited more by it than by any other financial proposal that appears in sight at present.

### Rural Teachers

IN the majority of cases rural teachers, who comprise 54 per cent. of the teachers of the nation, are less well paid and less well qualified than urban teachers. In the failure of rural schools to attract and hold outstanding teachers lies their greatest weakness, for the effectiveness of any educational programme depends far more on the teacher than upon all other factors combined.

In 1935-36 30 per cent. of all rural elementary teachers, including those in towns and villages under 2,500 population, had had less than

two years of college work, while 25 per cent. of the teachers in the one-teacher schools had no more than high school education.<sup>2</sup> (Low salaries are probably largely responsible for the inadequate training on the part of rural teachers. In 1935-36 the average annual salary for rural teachers was \$827, as compared with \$1,818 for urban teachers.<sup>3</sup>) The tenure of rural teachers is short, the average teacher being in the same position for only three years and in the profession for only seven.<sup>4</sup> The foregoing information should not be taken to mean that there are not many superior teachers doing outstanding work in rural schools. Perhaps some of the best as well as some of the poorest work in the nation is to be found in rural schools.

Twenty-nine states have some provision for taking care of teachers financially when they reach a specified age for retirement. Rural teachers share in these benefits but generally receive less than urban teachers because their salaries are less and their tenure is shorter.

### Educational Programmes of Rural Schools

THE original programme of the rural schools was to give the children of the community more or less formal training in a few traditional subjects. The educational responsibilities of the schools have steadily increased, however, until they now include both children and adults and a broad range of curricular materials and activities.

A satisfactory rural school curriculum takes into account the educational resources of the community, the out-of-school experiences of the children, and the special and individual problems of the children. It also takes into account the physical limitations of the school building, the limited teaching equipment, the small enrolment in each grade, and the large number of classes.

The typical one-teacher school offers work in the first eight grades,

<sup>2</sup> Gaumnitz, W. H. *Salary and Education of Rural School Personnel*. U.S. Dept. of the Interior Office of Education, Pamphlet No. 85. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Blose, David T., and Alves, Henry F. *Statistics of State School Systems, 1935-36. Biennial Survey of Education: 1934-1936. Vol. II.* U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin, 1937. No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> National Education Association, Research Division. *The Rural Teacher's Economic Status*. Research Bulletin 17: 40. January 1939.

<sup>1</sup> Data supplied to the Committee on Rural Education by David T. Blose, Associate Specialist in Educational Statistics, United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C. Published in *Still Sits the Schoolhouse by the Road*, by the Committee on Rural Education, Chicago, 1943.



enroling the children at the age of six and graduating them at the age of fourteen. Town and village schools offering both elementary and secondary work often divide the programme into what is known as the 6-6 plan, the first six years being devoted to elementary school work and the second six to secondary school work. This plan is

growing in favour with rural school administrators. The following programme for a six-year high school with five teachers is presented as representing a fairly typical programme of rural secondary education. The school and community activities sponsored by rural schools are both curricular and extra-

curricular, but there is a growing tendency not to make a distinction between the two since they both contribute toward the realization of the objectives of the educational programme. Among the most common school activities are included games and sports, dramatics, orchestras, bands, glee clubs, choruses, clubs of many kinds and

					Periods per week						Periods per week
First Year, Seventh Grade											
ENGLISH					5	HEALTH ACTIVITIES					*
SOCIAL STUDIES					5	GENERAL SHOP WORK AND AGRI-					
GENERAL MATH.					5	AGRICULTURE					5
FINE ARTS AND MUSIC APPREC.					5	<i>or</i>					
						HOME ECONOMICS					5
Second Year, Eighth Grade											
ENGLISH					5	General Shop Work and Agriculture					5
SOCIAL STUDIES					5	<i>or</i>					
GENERAL MATH.					5	Home Economics					5
GENERAL SCIENCE					5	Fine Arts					**
HEALTH ACTIVITIES					*	Music					**
Third Year, Ninth Grade											
ENGLISH					5	Agriculture and Mech. Arts...					5 or 10
SOCIAL STUDIES					5	<i>or</i>					
GENERAL SCIENCE					5	Home Economics					5 or 10
HEALTH ACTIVITIES					*	Fine Arts					**
General Math.					5	Music					**
Business Training					5						
Fourth Year, Tenth Grade											
ENGLISH					5	Business Training					5
HEALTH ACTIVITIES					*	Agriculture and Mech. Arts					5 or 10
Modern History					5	<i>or</i>					
Biology (or Physics or Chem.)					5	Home Economics					5 or 10
Algebra (or Geometry)					5	Fine Arts					**
For. Lang. 1 (in alternate years)					5	Music					**
Fifth Year, Eleventh Grade											
ENGLISH					5	Business Training					5
HEALTH ACTIVITIES					*	Agriculture and Mech. Arts					5 or 10
American History					5	<i>or</i>					
Physics (or Chem. or Biology)					5	Home Economics					5 or 10
Geometry (or Algebra)					5	Fine Arts					**
For. Lang 1 or 2					5	Music					**
Sixth Year, Twelfth Grade											
AMERICAN SOCIAL PROBLEMS					5	Business Training					5
HEALTH ACTIVITIES					*	Agriculture and Mech. Arts					5 or 10
English					5	<i>or</i>					
Chemistry (or Biology or Physics)					5	Home Economics					5 or 10
Advanced Math.					***	Fine Arts					**
For. Lang. 2 (in alternate years)					5	Music					**

(Prescribed Studies in Capitals)

\* Health activities are provided for in a special period of the daily schedule.

\*\* Credit for out-of-school study of art or music may be given to the extent of one unit per year. Chorus singing is provided for in a special period of the schedule.

\*\*\* Competent students wishing to take a unit of advanced mathematics in the sixth year should be allowed to do so on a completely individualized basis.



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types (including Boy Scouts and Girl Guides), declamatory contests, pageants, school parties and picnics, service projects, and excursions and field trips. The community activities are largely for the benefit of the out-of-school youth and adults in the community. These include lecture courses, short courses, games and sports, parent-teacher associations, community clubs, community fairs, school exhibits, musical programmes, dramatics, and forums. The school and community activities may vary from school to school and from one section of the country to another since there is no prescribed pattern that must be followed within the states or within the nation, but in spite of this there is considerable uniformity as to the major activities.

Adult education as sponsored by the rural schools is largely in the fields of agriculture and home economics, and it is, as a rule, carried on with aid from the Federal Government under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George Dean Acts for vocational education.

There is also extension work in agriculture and home economics in

most rural communities carried on by the land-grant colleges<sup>1</sup> with the aid of federal funds. This work is less systematic than the work of the schools, but it is helpful in providing timely information to large numbers of people. The 4-H Clubs which emphasize project work in agriculture and home economics for boys and girls between 10 and 21 years of age are also sponsored by the extension services of the land-grant colleges.

Library service in rural communities is not nearly so good as it is in urban centres. This is due to the difficulty of providing books for a thinly-scattered population and to the inequalities in ability to support public services of this nature. According to the American Library Association, over 30 million rural people are without adequate library services, whereas less than 5 million urban people are without such services.<sup>2</sup> In addition to public libraries, some rural schools

<sup>1</sup> Land Grant Colleges were originally established under a law granting public lands to the states for support of at least one college teaching branches of learning relative to agriculture and the mechanical arts.

<sup>2</sup> Equal Chance Books Help to Make It. American Library Association, Chicago. 1943.

have plans whereby they lend books in the school library to the people in the community. Other provisions for library service are state travelling libraries, library extension services, book-mobiles, and regional book service reaching every community. Six hundred counties out of 3,100 counties in the nation have county-wide library service. There is a growing appreciation of the need for more adequate provisions for library service in rural communities and rapid progress in its realization is anticipated.

## Conclusion

IN the main the rural schools of the United States are not so well organized, financed, staffed, or equipped as they should be to meet the educational demands of a complex world. The same criticism may to a lesser degree be levelled at the urban schools. A great educational effort is being made, but the task is so large and the opportunity so great that nothing short of the best is good enough. The potential power that lies in education is much greater than most persons have ever dreamed.



# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Bulletin No. 17  
June 1944

Edited by David Jordan,  
20 Dorchester Avenue, Palmers Green, N.13

THIS Bulletin is a report of a two-day conference on 'The Purpose and Content of Education in a Democracy' held under the auspices of the English New Education Fellowship and the Council for the Democratic Reconstruction of Education. Addresses were given by Mr. A. Pinsent, Senior Lecturer in Education at the University College of Aberystwyth, and Miss Catherine Fletcher, Principal of Bingley Training College; Professor F. A. Cavenagh acted as Conference chairman and gave the closing address. For purposes of detailed discussion the Conference was divided into six groups, each with a chairman and secretary who were responsible for presenting the results of the group discussion to the whole Conference. Considerable abbreviation has been necessary, but the general trend of the addresses and discussions is given in the hope that it will stimulate further discussion in other groups.

Our most immediately urgent problem is the reorganization of post-primary (secondary) education.

## Education for Democracy: Content and Purpose; A. Pinsent

At this stage of schooling it is desirable to define the purpose and content of the education which will be most satisfactory for adolescent pupils who may be allocated to the proposed secondary 'modern' schools, or departments of multilateral schools.

It is necessary, at the outset, to say what we mean by democracy, and then consider what the definition implies. Democracy may be defined as a political, economic, and social organization having the following characteristics:

- (a) Maximum participation for all citizens in all essential goods and services, including education.
- (b) Maximum access by all citizens to positions of responsibility.
- (c) Maximum opportunity for personal development for all citizens.

This formulation does not imply an *unqualified* equality. Even in a democratic society it is necessary to take due account of varieties and degrees of intellectual and temperamental endowment.

If we accept this position we must change our traditional notions about education. Hitherto, secondary education in England has been organized on a scarcity principle, that is, only just sufficient educational opportunity has been provided for the needs of certain groups of the population selected either on a social class basis or by scholarship examinations. Moreover, the content and form of the traditional curriculum have suited the special purposes of these selected groups.

Suppose that the proposals of the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction are implemented, and that *all* adolescents are educated at the secondary stage with parity of conditions and amenities; and suppose further that every adolescent is educated in the way most appropriate to his capacity and promise; then we have to ask whether one type of curriculum only is required, or whether we need different types.

The experience of the past forty years, and the criticisms summarized in the Norwood Report seem to show that the grammar school type of curriculum and approach are suitable only for the academically most able section of the adolescent population.

We can consider the purpose of any curriculum from two main points of view: as a medium for the development of qualities of mind and character; or as vocational preparation. In many cases, of course, the same subject-matter serves both purposes, and in a well-organized curriculum should do so. Otherwise the integrated personality, so desirable in every way, is discouraged or prevented.

Now, from which ever point of view we approach the curriculum problem we shall not attain our full educative aim unless every pupil finds in the curriculum a means of securing the satisfaction of successful participation. Opportunity for successful participation is essential.

It is urgently necessary, therefore, to estimate what proportion of our present adolescent population can profit by (that is, secure adequate satisfaction from) a *full* grammar or secondary-technical curriculum. According to the most reliable reports now available it would seem that the proportion is about one-third. Some alternative curriculum and method of approach is needed for the other two-thirds. We cannot allow the latter to be given a substitute grammar-school curriculum, or to be specialized at too early an age in some specific trade process. Every adolescent will be a person and a citizen as well as a worker.

Thus the problem is to design and organize in a democratic framework an education suitable for those adolescents not capable of mastering with adequate success a full grammar or secondary-technical curriculum. This education must be such as will encourage the development of qualities and abilities as persons, citizens, and workers to the fullest extent of the pupils' powers.

Looking at the problem in another way—we must face the need for a much higher standard of material culture. Too many people are existing on too low standards of nutrition and physical comfort. Raising economic production to a sufficiently high level for the full development of all citizens will require high standards of efficiency. This means, inevitably, that *all* adolescents who have the necessary capacity must be trained to the level of a full grammar or secondary-technical curriculum, a level to which it is impossible for every adolescent to attain.

However, if we consider the content of the secondary curriculum we find that a basic minimum of subject-matter and activities is necessary for all adolescents. Hence the practical problem for educational administrators and teachers is to decide *at what level of difficulty and in what form* the content of the common curriculum must be organized to meet the educational and the vocational needs of both the pupils and the community.



We have to face the problem of how to educate, and not merely to make literate, the children of the common people. Evacuation brought clashes, conflict and condemnation because we failed to realize the extreme differences in the social patterns of life in our country. The prevailing cultural pattern is not fixed, it is susceptible to alteration through environmental changes. The school is only one factor operating in the education of children, the home and neighbourhood are also primary social groupings of which account must be taken. An essential conception for a sound society, and therefore for a sound education, is the fact that individual development takes place in a family. The size of the family, the quality of family relationships, and the physical environment of the home are, therefore, matters of considerable educational importance. We must face the fact that the housing conditions of a considerable proportion of our population are scandalously inadequate, and constitute a major stumbling block in the way of the achievement of the good life. Improvements in schools alone will not ensure an adequate education for democratic living; we must aim at the upgrading of the standard of living of the people described in such books as *Our Towns* if such good work as is carried on in schools is not to be nullified in the home.

The school must also be seen in relation to community life, the life of the immediate local community. Town planners are already thinking of planning in terms of neighbourhood units, and the curriculum, no less than the site of the schools, must be related to fundamental historical growths. We are in process of rethinking the social philosophy out of which our educational provision arises. We must, therefore, keep the educational situation fluid. Experiments of many kinds will be needed and the administrative system must not be allowed to prevent action being taken upon the results of educational experiments.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a brief summary compiled from conference jottings; a further account of Miss Fletcher's contribution is to be published elsewhere.—Ed.

### **The Social Approach to the Curriculum ; Catherine Fletcher**

We have far to go before we attain an ideal form of democracy. The failure to remove deep social cleavage, the fact that society is not organized for plenty, and the great difference between the values taught in school and those practised outside are among the many symptoms of an unhealthy society. Conflicts between the individual and society not being satisfactorily resolved, the tendency is to expect gifts from the State rather than to render service to it.

Only in a properly planned democracy can such conflicts be resolved. Authority must not be imposed from above, but handed up from below by a people aware that they are working out their own destiny. Such an organization would preserve essential freedoms and induce the desire to serve.

The school in such a community, reflecting and teaching a new set of social values, could serve first to consolidate the democratic position and then advance it.

### **Purpose**

The purpose of education should be to give the individual an awareness of personal vital significance in and to the community. The fullest possible development of all facets of the personality must be sought through the acquisition of knowledge and the attainment of necessary skills, making possible successful and happy participation in the life of the community. We should aim at producing adventurous, emotionally stable and adaptable citizens.

### **The School and the Home**

We must insist on the need for much greater collaboration than hitherto between the school and the home. Parents must be called into discussion, their co-operation sought and above all, through their added influence, a deepening sense of community developed within the school, reaching out into and identifying itself with the world outside. One group urged that the B.B.C. be requested to arrange a series of talks upon the need for this co-operation in the forward drive in Education.

### **Citizenship**

Training in citizenship should not

be attempted in the first instance through the medium of lessons on Civics, although there is a place for some direct instruction. All groups recorded the conviction that a sense of citizenship can only be developed in actual social situations which, in the early stages, should be provided within the school itself. But this demands a new conception of school organization in which the creation of a spirit of community within the school should take precedence over everything else. Obvious aids include communal dramatic and choral work, and the running of school clubs and societies by the scholars themselves as activities in which all can actively and acceptably participate. But increasingly, democratic principles should become operative within the school. Criticism of its organization, methods, and curricula, should be encouraged among senior pupils. Experiments demanding change should on occasion be undertaken at their suggestion even when failure is almost a foregone conclusion, provided the failure does not seriously endanger the working of the school as a whole. Courage to experiment, to face the possibilities of failure, and, if necessary, to deal with its effects is more important to the future democratic citizen than the acquisition of a mass of inert ideas. If the spirit of adventure can become operative, life will become purposive and service be freely rendered.

Here, too, the solution to the problem of discipline will be found. The young person, feeling that he is equal to the conditions of living co-operatively with his fellows, participating with them in socially desirable tasks, will no longer await the word of command from above. Self-control will develop and be exercised in the pursuit of communally planned objectives.

The idea of the school as a cultural centre for a given area or neighbourhood was discussed and adopted by some groups. In one instance it was thus expressed :

'The school is to be thought of as an organic part of the community. In addition to the usual school accommodation, it should contain a health and medical centre, gymnasium, stadium, swimming baths, workshops and studios, concert hall, theatre, cinema, library, vocational and careers department.

' . . . In this centre parents would have their place and would



participate, as would the other partners in the educational process; employers, chamber of commerce, trade and professional unions, the various branches of the civic authority, and cultural and ethical societies, including the religious bodies. Thus the school would educate its own community through its responsibilities for the education of its young.

All groups appeared to be agreed that young persons need ever-widening circles of social relationships and obligations. The functional links between school and neighbourhood in a composite centre for children and adults would provide relevant social experience for the pupils, a valid form of civic and social education, and a background within which knowledge would be acquired and essential skills developed.

Information would not be imparted because of its potential usefulness, skills would not be taught merely because they might serve some future need. The immediate social situation would decide the material to be studied, the information to be sought and the skill to be applied. At all stages social relevance would be the guiding principle in conditioning 'Content', even when it became necessary to undertake studies ranging beyond those demanded by local considerations.

### Differentiation of Schools

Even for the minority who are intellectually capable of academic success, the existing grammar school curriculum and method was felt to be inadequate; for the vast majority it had probably little or nothing to offer.

There was general agreement that the problem of providing educational facilities appropriate for the requirements of a democratic community and the varying degrees of intelligence and range of aptitude had never been squarely faced. For the average and sub-average pupils this was particularly true. Certain conditions were felt to be pre-requisite to success:

1. Parity of status for all forms of post-primary education. It was felt that classification into types as suggested in the Norwood Report is more likely to militate against parity than to advance it. Probably only in a multilateral school could real parity be attained since only there would the free and necessary intermingling of types take place, and

equal access to equipment and amenities be possible.

A wide view of parity was taken. It implied the right of each child to be educated according to his capacity and to be aware of his acceptance as a member of the community, whatever his intellectual gifts. It had reference also to such matters as size of classes and staffing conditions, not excluding salaries.

2. For those children who could derive but little benefit from academic studies as ordinarily pursued, a more practical approach is obviously desirable.

Education for industry and vocational training were freely discussed. The value of a job in assisting the young person to identify himself with the larger community was acknowledged, but, as one group reported, his natural development must take precedence over his technical training as a producer. Another group suggested that a suitable age for entering upon vocational training would be thirteen, but that no *final* decisions should be made then about the individual's future occupation.

### The Teacher

Various references were made to the key position occupied by the teacher. His training must be less subject-centred and more child-centred; the problems of the backward child must be more intelligently and sympathetically handled by teachers with a high sense of vocation; specialists introduced into the school from industry and elsewhere must not be allowed to teach without some training in educational method; teachers must be much more socially minded if they are to render adequate professional service. Finally, it was stressed that only a democratically organized and operating staff could hope to infuse the school community with a democratic spirit.

There is no doubt that the group method is admirably suited to a conference of this sort; it enables every member of

**Concluding Address ;** the conference to contribute, so that **F. A. Cavenagh** attention is active rather than passive.

To sum up is far from easy, because the reports raise so many points and are so diverse in outlook, that they cannot be condensed into one single statement. Fortunately,

however, certain common issues appear; and in the short time at my disposal I will deal with half a dozen of these.

### 1. The Relation of the School to the Community

It was generally agreed that the school is only one of many factors in the education of a child, and in particular that far more emphasis than is usual should be put on the influence of the local environment. This sense of neighbourhood has always been traditional in England, though in modern times, especially in great cities, it has become obscured; yet even in London, as has been remarked, the comradeship of common suffering has restored local friendliness: London has again become (for the time being, at any rate) a collection of villages. If this neighbourhood sense can be preserved and brought into the schools it will have most beneficial effects; it will amongst other things provide an intelligible basis for the curriculum, and by giving children firm roots foster the growth of genuine democracy. In Burke's famous phrase: 'To love the little platoon we belong to in society is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public affections'. At the same time it must be remembered that loyalties do not necessarily expand in widening circles, as in theory they should; as we see clearly enough, loyalty to the house does not *always* develop into loyalty to the school—still less to the locality, the country, the Empire, the world. Yet it remains true that in no other order can democratic understanding grow.

### 2. The Purpose of Education in a Democracy

The groups evidently agreed that 'purpose' must be clarified before the problem of 'content' can be attacked. This is plain sense; for purpose determines content, and often method. There are plenty of general statements about purpose; and provided they are sufficiently vague people will agree to them. A recent example is the first sentence of the White Paper: 'The Government's purpose in putting forward the reforms described in this Paper is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to



provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are'. The sentiments there expressed are unexceptionable. But, as many of you felt, in the present state of society such ideals are impossible of achievement. That raises a vast and difficult question, which is of by no means merely theoretic interest: Does education reflect society, or should it seek to alter society? I cannot discuss that great issue now, but will only add that we must try to break the vicious circle that exists: democracy is impossible in any full sense until the people are educated, and at the same time there can be no adequate education except in a democracy. That circle must be attacked at many points, and it is my belief that the Education Act of 1944 will make many dents in its circumference.

### 3. Content

There was, I think, complete agreement that the curriculum needs overhauling. It is too apt to be a set of chunks of knowledge, related neither to one another nor to the life that children now lead or are likely ever to lead. The customary curriculum contains much that once had its use, but which through changed conditions has ceased to have that use. Latin is the most outstanding example. Whereas if, as already remarked, the curriculum arises out of community needs, it cannot be obsolete or artificial. Moreover, emphasis on separate 'subjects' should be avoided. The use of the word 'subject' is almost inevitable, since it is such a convenient label; but it would really be better if, with Dewey, we could do away with it. The important thing is that children should see why they are learning anything: they are not convinced by elaborate explanations of possible future benefits. But if they can observe, and if possible take some part in, the activities going on around them, they will understand the bearing of their school work well enough. It must, however, be recognised that some industries and neighbourhoods are less favourable

(to put it mildly) for this purpose than others. Several groups worked out an interesting core of studies that should be common to all children; and some went further in hoping that these studies would be pursued in a common school. There was some difference of opinion about the age to which this common curriculum should last; and the question of specialization inevitably arose. Naturally 'skills' as well as 'knowledges' figured in this basic curriculum; and the fostering of 'emotional stability', so desirable but so difficult to achieve, was also stressed.

### 4. Incentives

Doubtless the ideal school is one in which no incentives, positive or negative, rewards or punishments, are required. But short of that Utopian state, incentives should be as far as possible closely related to the studies themselves: they should be genuine, not artificial. As it is studies are usually so unrelated to life that we have to bolster them up with prizes, marks, and examinations. A recent book on examinations claims that they are a necessary part of the educational system, because of the valuable incentive they offer. That is no doubt true; but what a condemnation of the educational system.

### 5. Differentiation of Schools

It was clear that members were generally distrustful of a selection based only on I.Q. Further, that they are opposed to the segregation of mental types. More attention was naturally given to the needs of the great majority, who would, according to the scheme outlined in the Spens and Norwood Reports and the White Paper (though not mentioned in the Bill), attend the Modern Schools. It was hardly to be expected that in so short a time this conference could supply the right curriculum for these unknown schools; but it was agreed that these children should be given a fair deal, that they should not have just the same, or a bit more of the same, diet as the present Senior Schools; and that they should not be turned out merely as hewers of wood, with a purely vocational education.

That is all to the good. But I should like to put in a word of caution. In our anxiety to provide a suitable curriculum for the majority, and to cut away much traditional dead wood, let us not tend to neglect the minority who can by nature profit by the more academic studies. There should be no slur connected with the word 'academic'; the fault has lain not in academic studies, but in foisting them on a children for whom they have no meaning or interest. It is our duty to preserve the culture that we inherit; as John Stuart Mill put it, 'in order to qualify our successors for at least keeping up, and if possible for raising, the level of improvement which has been attained'. Besides, that minority will presumably be the source of future leaders and administrators, who must be appropriately educated. The mistake has been to educate them separately: any such segregation is completely undemocratic, and by causing disunity has been a source of weakness to the nation. Any tendency, however plausible, to a segregated education of an *élite*, a 'new aristocracy', must be fought at all costs.

6. Arising out of the last heading the *Multilateral School* evidently came in for much discussion, and on the whole approval. The pros and cons need not be rehearsed again now; but it was pointed out that such schools, although not called by that barbarous name, already exist. The fear that they must necessarily be overgrown does not seem justified; and apart from any other consideration they have the very great advantage of mixing up boys and girls of different mental (and social) levels. They would thus tend to draw together not only these different types of children, but also their parents—for it was stressed throughout that a closer partnership of parents was indispensable, a partnership in which all connected in any way with the welfare of children, and later of 'Young People', would be members: parents, teachers, employers, medical officers, and members of local authorities. We return in fact to the neighbourhood spirit with which I began, the foundation of democracy.



# International (N.E.F.) News

International Headquarters, 50 Gloucester Place, London, W.1

## The United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction

In April, at a meeting of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education held in London, a tentative draft constitution for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction was accepted. It will be sent to the allied and associated Governments for adoption.

This event marks a culminating point to many efforts made by various organizations on both sides of the Atlantic in recent years, notably by the Liaison Committee for International Education (United States) (Chairman: Dr. Grayson N. Kefauver) and by the Fifth Commission of the London International Assembly in London (Chairman: Professor Gilbert Murray).

The proposed organization will devote its first efforts to the emergency work of reconstruction that will have to be done in the war-ravaged countries as soon as hostilities cease. After experiences gained in this field it is hoped that the organization will be established as a permanent centre for international co-operation in educational and cultural matters.

Dr. Grayson N. Kefauver (Dean of the School of Education, Stanford University, and consultant to the State Department) is a member of the educational delegation from the U.S.A. which visited London in April. He will probably remain in England for some time and keep closely in touch with the initial plans for the new organization.

## The American Education Fellowship (United States Section of the New Education Fellowship), 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

By an overwhelming vote the members of the Progressive Education Association have changed the name of the organization to American Education Fellowship and have endorsed the Statement of Policy by the Board of Directors entitled *A New Programme for New Times*.

In this Statement the Board of Directors has said:

'Education must not only participate in community affairs, it must join with all types of citizens who wish to build schools of the people. It must cope with community problems and help to determine what the future of every community is to be like. The period which we are now entering should be marked by a more intimate relationship with parents, interest groups, adult education—in short, with all aspects of the community which surround the child and curriculum and which largely determine whether

the schools are or are not to function as people's schools.'

To this end, the Director and the Governing Board will address themselves to the task of making this Statement of Policy specific in terms of educational and community implementation. While the specific programme will not be ready to be announced until October, it can be stated that the A.E.F. will move in the following general direction:

1. Establish local branches of the American Education Fellowship in every community in the country.
2. Establish a Community Service Bureau to work with communities. This will include promotion of adult forums and discussion groups throughout America.
3. A greatly expanded publication service. Pamphlets, bulletins and other materials will be published as needed in the field.
4. The official journal (present title *Progressive Education*) will be somewhat revised along the lines of the whole programme and will report both the good and bad practices that have been going on in communities.
5. Push vigorously for research and experimentation in better educational practices in the schools.
6. Enlarge the conference programme. Many small, local meetings will be sponsored.
7. To make the organization effective in terms of the new orientation, it must have a membership which includes youth, parents and other interested lay citizens in large numbers.

The American Education Fellowship will be able to function dynamically only if it is supported by an active membership, democratically recruited from the 'grass-roots', that will insure the participation of the largest possible number of the common people. By the common people we mean educators, parents, youth and *all* interested citizens who will work together to study and improve community practices as they affect our developing concept of public, democratic education for all.

## Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency

From its foundation in 1932 the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency has devoted much of its energy to providing courses of instruction for probation officers and other workers in the field.

For some time the Council has felt that in addition to the educational facilities provided at the Institute's premises, lectures and lecture courses on the Psychology of Delinquency and the work of the Institute should be made available to organizations and individual groups in other areas. Arrangements have now been made whereby a Lecturer (who is a member of the staff and a practising psychologist) can undertake such work.

Applications from those interested are invited, and should be sent to the General Secretary, 17 Manchester Street, London, W.1, and should contain the following particulars: Name of organization or group, address where the lectures would be given, date/s, day of week and time; Type of lecture required, *e.g.* a general talk about the I.S.T.D., a lecture or course on the Psychology of Delinquency, or a lecture or course on some other psychological subject.

## A STUDY CONFERENCE

ON

### Tolerance in relation to Ethics, Religion, Art and Science

The New Education Fellowship (International Headquarters) will arrange a small Study Conference on the above theme for a week (3-9 August) in London.

Membership of the Conference will be restricted to 80. Readers who would like details as soon as they are ready should send a post card to

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# Book Reviews

**Infants Without Families.** *The cases for and against Residential Nurseries.* By Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud. pp. 108. 3/6. (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1944).

Once more Mrs. Burlingham and Anna Freud have produced a book that could prove of very great value to all those concerned with young children. The disruption of family life is one of the most serious and far-reaching of our problems, the implications of which must be reckoned with before social reconstruction in the post-war period can be effective. This book, *Infants without Families*, does more than set out the case for and against residential nurseries with lucidity and wisdom: it goes to the root of the principles governing personality development and social adaptation, so that not only nursery workers but statesmen and administrators, as well as parents and teachers, might profit from its reading.

As the authors show, differences in development between the home and institutional child are both quantitative and qualitative. With regard to muscular control, speech development, habit training and feeding the differences in each case are quantitative. Muscular control and good feeding habits develop more quickly and easily in institutions; speech and habit training are delayed when the mother's influence is missing. Where the child's emotional life is concerned, however, lack of the family setting produces serious qualitative changes. The basic instinctual need for early attachment to the mother receives only partial

satisfaction even when, as in the Hampstead Nurseries, the most careful efforts are made for a substitute mother-relationship. Consequently this need may either become blunted, in which case the child 'fails to develop all the more highly organized forms of love which should be modelled on this first pattern', or 'dissatisfied and disappointed, (he) may overstress his desire to gain a mother, and remain continually on the look-out for new mother figures whose affection he might gain'. Children of this latter type are those 'who change their allegiance all the time . . . exacting, demanding, apparently passionate, but always disappointed in whatever new attachment they form'—the Don Juans, . . . or maybe the political agitators of future life, if their conflicts are not resolved. At the same time that institutional infants lack the stable background of the parent-child relationship, they are faced with a superabundance of emotional contacts with other children. 'They live in an age group, that is, in a dangerous world peopled by individuals who are as asocial and as unrestrained as themselves'. Under these conditions there is more occasion to be jealous, and consequently more aggressive behaviour than when a child at home has the protected position of being 'our baby' to older brothers or sisters. In the group, even among toddlers hostilities between individuals quickly spread to war between numbers. On the other hand, the quality of pity and capacity for protective friendships develop precociously, while the formation of family groups among children of varying ages within the nurseries alleviates the problem to some extent.

Throughout the book conclusions are based upon and illustrated by observed behaviour of the children. The rôle of the father, so often neglected, is fully dealt with; so, too, are the growth of personality under nursery conditions and various aspects of instinctual satisfaction and frustration. 'Early instinctive wishes have to be taken seriously, not because their fulfilment or refusal causes momentary happiness or unhappiness, but because they are the moving powers which urge the child's development from primitive self-interest and self-indulgence towards an attachment and consequently towards an adaptation to the grown-up world. The normal and healthy growth of the human personality depends on the circumstances of the child's first attachments, and on the fate of the instinctual forces . . . which find expression in these early and all-important relationships'.

A final chapter summarizes the authors' findings. Residential nurseries can be valuable in developing health, skills, and social responses. It is important that they should recognize their limitations with regard to emotional life and character-development. They provide excellent opportunities for collecting valuable observations which can be applied 'to the upbringing of other children who are lucky enough to live under more normal circumstances'.

It is clear that the infants of the Hampstead Nurseries, even without families, are supremely lucky in the foster-mothers who have written this book about them.

*Theodora Alcock*

**Education in Democracy.** *The Folk High Schools of Denmark.* By J. Christmas Moller and Katherine Watson. (Faber and Faber. 5/-).

For one hundred years the Danish Folk High Schools have given the people of Denmark a training in citizenship and a real understanding of the democratic way of life. They helped to bring about a great spiritual renaissance in Denmark after her defeat by Germany in 1864, and they trained the political leaders of the people for the great liberal movement which swept the country at the end of the nineteenth century. To-day, their influence is to be seen in the growing resistance of the Danish people to Nazi aggression. To-morrow, the authors of this book believe, they can make a vital contribution in a world freed of war.

The founder of the Danish Folk High School, Bishop Grundtvig, who was a man of outstanding personality, profoundly influenced the religious and national life of his people. He derived many of his ideas on adult

## The American Story

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education from Fichte and Rousseau, and these views were, perhaps strangely, reinforced by three visits made to England between 1829 and 1836. He was impressed by the common-sense of the English people and by the electoral and social reforms which were beginning to take shape in this country. As a student he shared for a while the collegiate life of Oxford and Cambridge and reflected on what such an opportunity for corporate life and learning might mean for the masses of his own people. 'He realised that the farmer, the clerk, the labourer and the sailor could not spare a period of years in which to pursue their studies; but even a short period of time thus spent would send each young person back to his daily life the richer for this experience . . .'

Grundtvig inspired many disciples with his writings and speeches, and the special contribution of those who founded and directed High Schools are recorded in this book. The Schools are privately owned and from their inception they have owed much to their Principals. These men have lived and worked in common with their students, sharing the same quarters and the same meals. The great majority of the students have been peasant farmers and smallholders and, the Principals and their staffs, people who have known country folk and country ways. The peasant farmers are the leaders of agriculture in Denmark and they have gained much social, political and economic strength from their capacity for co-operation. The spirit of co-operation they acquired in the Folk High School, not from conscious teaching of the economics of co-operation, but from their studies together, under simple but inspired leadership, of literature, history and mythology. Grundtvig wanted nothing less than a

religious and national renaissance and he wanted to give the Danish peasant 'a satisfying position in the life of the community'. No visitor to pre-war Denmark could have doubted the extent of his achievement.

In recent years, the Folk High Schools have tried to attract the town worker, but with little success. 'Danish' and 'History' are the dominating subjects at most High Schools. The men from the plough are not bookish; they cannot be easily interested in the study of sociology for generally, 'the conditions under which they work are excellent'. The Christian atmosphere and the 'make the most of little Denmark' type of nationalism which is found in the High School suits

the country man. The town worker is perforce, more materialistic, less religious, and internationally minded . . . One third of the Danish working population is employed in agriculture and one-third in industry. In Britain we have a higher proportion of industrial workers. Moreover, they are as sophisticated and 'town minded' as the workers of Copenhagen, indeed their industrial tradition is often deeper and of longer duration. Thus while many British observers will be ungrudging in their admiration for the achievements of the Danish Folk High School, they will doubt the wisdom of uprooting an institution of peculiarly native growth and attempting to transplant it, even in a modified form, to a foreign soil where tradition and industrial orientation are so different.

There is no pretentiousness and no high flights of language in this little work. Some readers may find it a little naive in parts, for it has but a simple story to tell. In that story the differences and the similarities of the various types of Folk High School in Denmark are clearly shown and there are interesting chapters on Peter Manniche's International People's College at Elsinore and on the extension of the Folk High School Movement to other Scandinavian countries. The authors have not had the advantage of much valuable material which would have been at their disposal in Denmark.

*E. H. Littlecott*

[The material for the June and July-August issues of the *New Era* has been collected for us by Mr. W. G. Carr, Secretary of the Educational Policies Commission and Associate Secretary of the National Education Association. We are very grateful to him and to all his authors for all their help.

In devoting two consecutive issues to education in the U.S.A., it seemed wisest to start with a clear account of the administration of education. Next month we hope to publish articles on the more personal aspects of the progress.—ED.]



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*Headmaster : W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.*

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# THE NEW ERA

## IN HOME AND SCHOOL

PRICE 1/- JULY-AUGUST 1944 Volume 25, Number 6

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## American Schools Face the Minority Problem

Arranged by Annette Smith Lawrence

Educational Director, The Council Against Intolerance in America

AMERICA is beset with many problems in meeting the cultural and social needs of its minority groups, but many individuals and groups have a growing awareness of the problems and a determination to find effective means of solving them. The challenge is being met in the educational field with varied experiments designed to promote better conditions.

Educational opportunities for the Negro, which have been advancing steadily through the years, are now given increasing emphasis. The 13,000,000 Negroes in America make up approximately 10 per cent. of the population. Eighty years ago the Negro slave was legally freed, but prejudice and hostility can be eliminated only by a long process of education. Though much remains to be done before the promise of equal rights and citizenship is fulfilled, Negro literacy has risen from 10 per cent. after the Civil War to 90 per cent. to-day. The number of Negro teachers has increased from 10,000 to 55,000.

Negro migration from the rural areas of the South to the North has been accelerated since the last war, but three-fourths of the colored population still lives in the South. There separate schools are maintained. Figures for institutions of higher education give

some measure of the advance which has been made in separate education during the last twenty years. In 1916 there were less than a dozen Negro institutions offering college work. In 1936 there were over 100 colleges enrolling 35,000 students. These included 18 public colleges, 51 private colleges, 17 teacher training colleges, and 35 junior colleges. Property value of these institutions had increased from \$14,000,000 to \$65,000,000, and the number of books in their libraries from 75,000 to over 1,000,000 bound volumes. Individual Negroes have achieved places of distinction in government, as professional men, scientists, educators, writers and artists.

This article will deal particularly, however, with attempts to combat prejudice in the North, where all attend the same schools. While the impact of war has had a tendency to sharpen racial conflicts and suspicions of immigrant groups, the schools are using new methods to combat prejudice and to fit all pupils, native-born, immigrant, and minority racial groups, for the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. There is a growing belief that education should look toward the preservation of special cultural qualities of each group.

Accounts of two of the many programmes under way are presented here.

### A City High School's Contribution<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin Franklin High School is a four-year public senior high school for boys, situated in East Harlem in New York City. This is an area characterized by inadequate housing, ugliness, poverty, severe health and delinquency problems, and a heterogeneous population consisting of Italians, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, whose language is Spanish, and smaller numbers of other national groups. The income level is generally low. There continues to be competition for jobs. Problems in intercultural relations among the people in the community are intensified as a result of this general situation. In the streets of the community boys, and even girls, of all ages form groups, often based on national or racial origin, for offensive or defensive purposes. Certain streets are forbidden members of one racial or national group, and members of that group who venture on them are attacked by organized gangs on the other side. In the Italian area there is resentment at the use of the school or other community resources by Negroes; in the Negro neighbourhood Italians are made to feel unwelcome, to put

<sup>1</sup> Description by Dr. Rita Morgan, Director of Community Activities, Benjamin Franklin High School, New York.



it mildly. Italians and Puerto Ricans maintain a sharp geographical dividing line which either group crosses at its peril. This strong feeling of animosity appears to exist in all age groups, but overt expression in the way of physical attack appears to be most frequent in the 10 to 12 year group and in the older adolescent group. It is in the light of serious problems such as this in the community from which the boys came that the programme designed to foster more friendly relations among the boys of Franklin was undertaken.

The experience at Franklin cannot be considered one that is typical of most American high schools, for the community within which it operates is not typical; the strength of the home and community influence in the direction of *intolerance* is unusually great; and perhaps most important of all, the deep concern of the Principal, Leonard Covello, for the furthering of friendly relations among all groups is unusual. His concept of the role that the school must play in integrating diverse racial groups into a unified whole as a part of induction into genuine American citizenship has been the impetus for a lifetime of service devoted to the realization of this ideal. It is this philosophy and ideal which has been the motive behind most of the work done at Franklin.

In the ten years of the school's existence there has been a continuing effort to develop an effective programme of intercultural relations. In those ten years many things have been tried; many people have laboured to discover reasons for hatred and discrimination, and to find ways of combating them and of developing positive attitudes of friendliness. From this experience one thing stands out clearly—that any programme of this sort depends first and foremost on the kind of teacher who tries to carry it out. Where Franklin has been successful in the work, it has been due to the efforts of teachers who had some of the following characteristics:

(1) They were imbued with a sense of personal dedication to a great cause.

(2) They loved people and especially children.

(3) They achieved a sympathetic

insight into causes of racial tension and conflict.

(4) They had a sense of professional responsibility for handling this very difficult problem, and a desire for professional growth which led them to inquire into basic causes in the fields of psychiatry, economics, anthropology and related areas of study and to acquire technical proficiency in the extremely delicate and complex area of methodology and the use of available resources.

(5) They were willing to inquire into causes in the community outside of the school walls, and to make their good will and desire to improve relations among all groups effective in the community and among the boys in the classroom. This was a particularly difficult aspect of the problem because most of the teachers did not live in the community.

It is important to emphasize the kind of teacher who carried out the programme developed at Franklin, because it is the feeling of those who have worked there that, given such teachers, some sort of programme would be evolved even without special tools or plans. But if a teacher lacks the necessary qualities and regards this side of his work as another frill or fad he will do poorly, or may even do harm in this delicate field, in spite of all sorts of programmes, aids, plans, and other assistance.

The following are some of the methods which have been used at Franklin:

(1) A constant attempt at visual appeals. The school is equipped with excellent display cases and bulletin boards in all the halls and with a museum. These are filled with books, posters, pictures, newspaper and magazine clippings, etc., with suitable titles and slogans emphasizing the contributions to American and world civilization of all racial groups. The Art department sponsors a contest for young artists for the best poster for use in the School and community.

(2) A week in February is dedicated annually to 'Brotherhood Week'. Appropriate ceremonies, displays, special lessons and discussions are used.

(3) Assembly programmes. During Brotherhood Week and on several other occasions during the year a programme in the Assembly

is devoted to the development of good racial relations. This may take the form of a movie, a student discussion, a student-performed play, a guest speaker or other method of presentation.

(4) There is an Inter-racial committee which has on it student teachers and outstanding members of the community. At present a local lawyer is the chairman. Students are given school credit for serving on this committee and for reporting to their classes. The committee looks into causes of local friction, sponsors activities designed to lessen this friction, and co-operates with churches and other community agencies which are concerned.

(5) The after-school club programme is a particularly fruitful medium for fostering friendly relations. All racial groups co-operate and together play in the school orchestra, on the basketball team, in the dramatic club, in the chorus and attend social dances and meetings. It is the particular concern of the principal and other on the staff that all these activities have members of all racial groups. Every effort is made to prevent an all-Negro chorus or an all-Italian club programme of any sort. Awards are given for student assembly for special achievement in studies, the arts or sports, and the principal tries to have members of several racial groups appear at the same time. If, for example, the basketball team is receiving awards and if it happens that many of the players are Negro, there is a violin solo by a boy of Italian descent.

(6) There is a student teacher training programme which includes definite instruction in methods and techniques of intercultural education.

(7) There is a course of instruction for teachers in the school for teachers from other schools in the neighbourhood. The course meets once a week at the school and hear outstanding speakers in the field of intercultural relations, to consider individual problems which teachers may present.

(8) There is a close relationship between students, some teachers, the principal, and community agencies such as settlements, other schools, churches, etc. Franklin students and teachers are frequent speakers at local meetings and leaders often participate in school



activities designed to promote friendly relations. Every effort is made to develop in all students a sense of personal responsibility for leadership in the community in intercultural relations.

(9) The school attempts a constant programme of parent education in tolerance. It is recognized that this is the most difficult area of all. At present participation in parents' organization on a community wide basis, rather than on school basis, seems to be more effective. The school organization tends to be almost entirely Italian in character with a distinct need for the development of more friendly attitudes toward Negro and Puerto Rican parents.

(10) Students have been sent as representatives of the school to participate in radio and forums throughout the city and to express the school's philosophy of good relations.

(11) Every department in the school, with varying degrees of emphasis and success, has incorporated in the body of its teaching material some aspect of the teaching of intercultural relations. The details of the programme in the English, social studies, and science departments are far too many for a short description such as this; but these departments would be only too happy to send details of texts, visual aids, methods used, experiments, etc., upon the request of any English teacher who might be interested.

An evaluation of the success of this programme is impossible to attempt at this time. It can be said that overt acts of discrimination and intolerance rarely occur within the school walls, but they continue in the community. Most of the boys who have been at the school for a while are intellectually aware of the proper, the socially acceptable attitude and would be ashamed to express the more extreme forms of intolerance. Only a beginning has been made, and there is no assurance that more fundamental changes in attitude have been effected. The task is a continuing one, and demands more intensive study of methods for bringing about change in attitude. But it is certain that the attempt to meet this need is one of the most important that confronts educators in a democracy.

## SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS —A Whole Community Plans<sup>1</sup>

Citizens of Springfield, Massachusetts, activated and organized by the school authorities, set about in 1939 to discover what needed to be done to control and prevent the contagion of anti-democratic racial and religious attitudes.

The Springfield Plan was recommended to the National Conference of Christians and Jews following a survey of the Conference's educational and public relations practices. One important finding in that survey was that anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Negroism and the like could not usually be met successfully by counter propaganda. It was pointed out that counter propaganda intensifies conflict, that only an educational approach to create folkways based on reason and goodwill could replace those based on ignorance, superstition and irrational fear. Because such a task was educational, it was recommended that one community attempt to work out methods to replace bad folkways with good.

Springfield, Massachusetts, was the city recommended. It had a population of about 150,000; about 40 per cent. 'Yankee', chiefly Protestant; about 58 per cent. foreign-born or children of foreign parents, chiefly Catholic; small Jewish and Negro minorities. It had a conservative school system, with teachers and administrators chosen on merit. The school personnel tended to represent fairly well the different nationality groups in the community.

As the plan worked out, the goals of the school were:

- (1) To get axioms of fair play into the minds and hearts of young people and adults
- (2) To help pupils and adults distinguish between fact and opinion
- (3) To seek relevant facts before making a judgment
- (4) To make judgments on the basis of relevant facts.

In the elementary schools, attention is not directed to racial or religious prejudices. The approach is wholly positive, to lead to formation of habits which would, for example, make it absurd for

a child to refuse to play with another child because his hair was red or black or because his skin was fair or dark.

In the high schools definite units on opinion and prejudice are introduced into the curriculum. Processes of mental-emotional conditioning are observed and their effects are studied. The democratic-scientific approach to problems in the field of physical science is laid as a basis for the utilization of an objective, scientific approach to problems in the field of human relationships. Science, social science, English (emphasis upon semantics and logic) are related to the attack on prejudice.

This attack, however, is a community attack. The schools have inspired the Council for Adult Education, the Council of Social Agencies and other adult groups to co-ordinate their educational efforts with those of the schools. School buildings are now used as adult education centres in all neighbourhoods of the city. More and more people are being brought together to discuss contemporary problems which confront the city, the state, the nation, the world.

In four years the Springfield community has demonstrated that prejudice can be prevented or controlled by educational methods. There is evidence that attitudes with respect, say, to employment of Negroes have been changed. Here the school placement office, recommending young people for positions in industry, and the Council of Social Agencies have co-operated in both formal and informal studies of attitudes—studies which seem to have laid the foundation for reducing prejudice against employment of Negroes as industrial workers and as teachers.

Springfield has made but a beginning. It has adapted its educational efforts to meet conditions peculiar to the community. In other communities the approach would follow in general the same line, but exact methods would depend upon conditions peculiar to those communities. It would be unwise to expect quick results from such a plan. Certainly no Utopia can be promised as a result of it. Even so, the writer is convinced that it offers more hope than any other way she knows of, in dealing with these problems of prejudice.

<sup>1</sup> Description by Dr. Clyde R. Miller, Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.



# Curriculum Development in Santa Barbara County<sup>1</sup>

Lelia Ann Taggart

Director of Education

## Programme of Co-operation

**I**N 1934 the Superintendent of Schools of Santa Barbara County embarked upon a radical study of the educational programme of the region and a more comprehensive planning of the educational service. Fourteen members of the faculty of the School of Education of Stanford University were asked to help in this task. Their help took various forms: they held individual conferences with teachers and principals; visited classrooms, observed procedures, assisted teachers in diagnosing difficulties, and co-operated with teachers in adapting the curriculum to meet the needs of their situations. They helped in the planning and conducting of excursions for teachers, in developing adequate records of children's work and in bringing about closer articulation between elementary and secondary schools. They conducted work meetings for the teachers and recommended the purchase of useful supplementary teaching materials developed in other school systems. The purpose underlying all these activities is to provide for the growth and development of teachers so that they may help each child to develop his highest potentialities.

## Philosophy of Education

In a series of discussions among teachers and consultants plans were made and first steps outlined for the development of a new curriculum. These were concerned chiefly with setting up guidelines along which the teacher might develop, experiment with and revise a programme of education. Two basic guidelines showed themselves to be essential: a philosophy of education, and a curriculum framework indicating the scope and sequence of each class's activities.

All the participants in the curriculum programme agreed that the philosophy should express what the school system means by education and what it proposes to do for

the child. Education is responsible for aiding youth and adults alike to understand the specific problems of our contemporary period, and to interpret them in the spirit of our American culture. Governments cannot hope to maintain themselves without programmes of education designed in harmony with their needs and practices. For this reason, our democracy has established a programme of free public education. As times have changed, new problems have arisen, and we have found it desirable to re-define our needs.

Educational objectives will also be influenced by the attitude to the individual and by the theory of the learning process which is in vogue. Psychological concepts are constantly changing as research goes forward in child development. In the light of the social and individual needs thus revealed it becomes the duty of society to aim at describing the attitudes that will help individuals live a finer and more abundant life in this democracy.

In the section of our statement of educational philosophy dealing with the nature of the individual, it is pointed out that the classroom teacher must have some idea of the physical, mental, emotional and social development of school children. Knowledge of these processes of growth is fundamental to the understanding of children and their behaviour. The teacher must view each child as a growing and developing individual. All children grow, develop and mature according to a pattern, but it must be kept in mind that each individual varies in rate of normal growth. Recognition of individual differences in growth and development is necessary if the teacher is to help children to achieve their highest powers.

## Scope and Sequence Framework

The teaching group realized that a philosophy is only successful if carried out effectively! It was

decided not to draw up a formal curriculum for fear of giving the subject matter too important a part in the determination of the programme and not allowing sufficiently for adaptation to the needs of the pupils. Yet it was recognized that some guiding framework was desirable to ensure reasonable orderliness and continuity in the life of pupils as they advanced through the school. This led to the development of a framework which has been termed 'scope and sequence'.

## Scope

In defining the scope of the curriculum, we started by listing the experiences or functions in which all persons in a society participate. Instead of organizing the school day according to subjects, the programme is developed around large problems which involve the use of the various skills formerly dealt with in separate subjects. Education, it is assumed, should give understanding of common social activities and competence in carrying them on at a high level. The functions listed included: developing, conserving and intelligently utilizing natural and human resources; producing, distributing and consuming goods and services; communicating; transporting; resting and playing; expressing and satisfying spiritual needs; expressing and satisfying aesthetic needs; providing education and searching for new knowledge; and organizing and governing. These activities have been common to all culture. They delineate the way of life of any social group.

A curriculum based on these activities makes demands upon every subject or field of learning. It ties together the past, present and future, and thereby unifies and relates knowledge, facts and principles which have been formerly offered as subject matter irrespective of their bearing upon problems of actual living. It serves as a guide to the teacher in determining

<sup>1</sup> In this article Miss Taggart describes one of the best-known pioneering developments in rural education. (For a description of the general set-up of Rural education, see Mr. Barton Morgan's article, *New Era*, June 1944). This programme of curriculum development in a rural section of California was developed with the assistance of a University faculty in education. While the article stresses the process of planning for a region and the process by which a teacher develops a programme for her pupils within the general framework agreed upon for the region, it gives numerous illustrations of the educational procedures used in the elementary schools of Santa Barbara county. More advanced and more specialized training bearing on problems of life in rural areas is given in the secondary schools of the county.



whether or not living in the classroom is touching all the important phases of actual life.

### Sequence

The planning committees thought desirable to define chief centres of emphasis for each of the grades. This list of centres of emphasis indicates or determines the sequence of experience of pupils as they pass through the school. It was felt that an educative process to be effective should be a continuous process of development, and that teaching should be organized according to evidences of child growth and the requirements of the society in which he lives. We felt it necessary, therefore, to choose and organize into patterns experiences suited to the child's development. We believed that these experiences would enable him to become increasingly conscious of his environment and to participate successfully in its activities. They concluded that experiences carefully chosen and set in the right order would help the child to understand the complexities of a modern democratic society.

The sequence which was developed for the twelve grades in Santa Barbara County is as follows:

*Kindergarten Theme:* Learning to live with others in small, flexible social groups in an environment which provides for experiences related to many interests.

*Grade One:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating problems arising in the home and school.

*Grade Two:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating problems of our neighbourhood and community.

*Grade Three:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating the problems of our community in relation to other communities.

*Grade Four:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating man's relationship to his physical environment.

*Grade Five:* Learning to live in a changing world by investigating the problems arising from an increase in mechanical inventions and discoveries as they affect our way of living.

*Grade Six:* Learning to live in a changing world by investigating the problems arising from the development of a democratic way

of life in the Pacific Far West Region.

*Grade Seven:* Learning to live in a changing world by investigating the problems arising from social inventions and discoveries.

*Grade Eight:* Learning to live in a changing world by investigating problems of an increasingly complex society which necessitate social control.

*Grade Nine:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating problems of the Pacific Far West Region.

*Grade Ten:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating problems arising from a shift from an agrarian way of life to a highly industrialized way of life.

*Grade Eleven:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating problems growing out of an evolving democratic society.

*Grade Twelve:* Learning to live in a changing world through investigating the problems growing out of an evolving democratic society.

### Problems

We aimed to let each child tackle a series of problems chosen from the contemporary scene and pushed as far back into their historical beginnings as the maturity of the child will allow. In the treatment of each of these problems, an attempt is made to develop not only its historical and factual side but also to emphasise all the cultural aspects related to it, such as literature, art and music.

A problem to have any educational value must be a real problem to the group of children working on it; it must evoke their developing powers and it must have several possible solutions. The steps in problem solving are: defining the problem, collecting the tools for its solution, using the tools, surveying the progress of the work and drawing tentative conclusions as to how it is going and applying these conclusions to finishing the job.

It is suggested in the elementary grades that the day be divided into three parts. Probably half the day should be given over to solving problems in general education. The rest should be divided between an appreciation period and the direct teaching of skills.

### Units

In planning units for use in the

classrooms a certain amount of forethought is essential. The following pattern has proved successful:

- (i) Statement of problem
- (ii) What does this problem mean? (Significance)
- (iii) What are the characteristics of children of this age which justify this particular problem? (maturity level, interests, needs)
- (iv) What behaviours shall I strive to develop in these children through this piece of work?: (Purposes)
  - (a) Understanding and generalizations
  - (b) Attitudes and appreciations
  - (c) Skills and abilities
- (v) What activities should the children engage in order to acquire these behaviours? (Activities)
- (vi) Have we achieved the desired behaviours? (Evaluation)
- (vii) References.

The significance should include a discussion of the problem from the point of view of its significance to society and its significance to the pupil. In analysing a problem its present status should be considered and its historical development. Several alternative courses of action may be proposed. The best basis of studying the problem can be suggested, and discussion provoked about its solution.

By '*understanding and generalizations*' we mean possible answers to the problem. They are not necessarily the answers that the child will come out with, but they are answers which the experience of people have proved to be socially desirable. In setting up these generalizations care should be taken to be sure that they are not statements of fact, but are statements or conclusions that can be arrived at only by the individual making some decision on the matter.

There are many desirable '*attitudes and appreciations*'. Some selection had to be made. Santa Barbara County is trying to provide situations for changes in pupil behaviour that will develop the following attitudes: self-respect, creativeness, co-operation, scientific attitude, responsibility and social concern.

The *skills* are not thought of as an end in themselves but are means



to ends. We look upon them as tools to be used in furthering the complete development of the individual. In determining which skills should be developed by the school programme there has been built a minimum list of the skills required for competency in each of the subject fields formerly treated in the school programme. Each skill has been concentrated upon at a specific grade level. During that particular grade level the designated skills should be acquired by each child. After they are once acquired the teacher should see that they are used and so kept usable, in the solution of subsequent problems.

To ensure that the solutions of each problem does do for every child in the class what it was designed to do, an effort is made to visualize beforehand the kind of behaviour that will be involved in its solution. Teachers should be able to suggest and recognize the ways in which people will behave if they are setting about the job properly.

For example, on the fourth grade level, one class was studying the problem 'How Can California Develop a Water Supply Adequate for its Present and Future Needs?' In her pre-planning the teacher had stated several attitudes which she wished to develop. Among them was the following: 'A realization of the value of water as fundamental to all life activities'. Under this statement she listed the following possible ways of behaving:

- (a) Joe is careful in his use of water, checking to see that taps are turned off after use.
- (b) Raymond finds all the information that he can about proposed water conservation projects in his area.
- (c) Ruth sees to it that her animal pets have sufficient water for their needs.
- (d) Jim helps as well as he is able to irrigate his father's ranch.
- (e) Patricia and Donna carry on a series of experiments to demonstrate to the class the necessity of water to plant and hence to animal and human life.

In the same unit the teacher planned several skills, one of which was: 'Ability to make graphs', and under it she listed the following behaviours:

- (a) He organizes his material.

- (b) He arranges items in order (from largest to smallest or smallest to largest).
- (c) He uses the ruler accurately.
- (d) He decides on which symbols to use.
- (e) He translates his data into symbols.
- (f) He places his symbols on the graph correctly.

In choosing the *activities* in which the pupils may engage care should be taken that each activity has its stated purpose or reason. This purpose should relate directly to one of the purposes established for the unit. The activities should provide opportunities for the pupils to analyse the problem, to seek for a variety of materials, to bring their findings together and relate them to the problem, to form conclusions in terms of the information they have gained, and to test the conclusions in some situation.

*Evaluation* is attempted in terms of the purposes stated in the purpose section of the problem. It is difficult to gather evidence on changes in pupil behaviour, especially since in the past most evaluation was done only in terms of finding out how much subject matter had been acquired. Standard and approved means of determining how many of the skills have been acquired or imparted are still being used. In the 'understandings and attitudes' every means possible is being employed to find objective evidence of changes in pupil behaviour. New techniques to help the teacher to observe and record changes in pupil behaviour are being developed. New instruments that have been developed by various research groups for finding out and recording changes in 'understanding and attitudes' are being adapted to specific situations.

In some cases teachers, in attempting to keep anecdotal records, are building check charts of the desired behaviours involved in certain purposes so that they will have a simple way of noting the occurrences of certain behaviours.

One technique which is being used considerably was developed by the Evaluation Study of the Thirty School Experiment. It is the technique of raising a problem relative to the situation involved in the unit. Several possible courses of action are suggested as the solution to the problem. There is

a rather long list of reasons, and in this list are statements which support each of the several courses of action. The student reads the problem, selects the course of action he thinks best, and supports it by checking the reasons for his decision. This instrument helps teachers in getting at the child's understanding of the problem, and also reveals some evidence of the presence or lack of the skill of critical thinking.

*References* are thought of as including books, magazines and pamphlets for both teachers and pupils, all types of audio-visual aids, and environmental materials. Santa Barbara County offers a rather rich collection of all these materials for its schools.

There is a department of visual education which provides motion pictures, film strips, lantern slides, stereographs, Kodachrome transparencies, maps and globes, flash pictures, prepared exhibits, phonograph recordings, radio transcriptions, and other types of audio-visual materials. Many of the schools own their own equipment but the department has available sound motion picture machines, still film projectors, a delineascope and a transcription turntable. There is a textbook collection which is constantly growing and is adequate for the needs of the schools. A curriculum laboratory is maintained which keeps up to date on all of the new text and professional materials that are published. Teachers may use this laboratory for planning their class work, for professional growth, and for getting suggestions for future purchases. There is also available for schools the resources of the museum of art. The county schools maintain an instructor on the museum staff whose job it is to work with the teachers and children in developing creative ability in art.

It has been the experience of many of the Santa Barbara County teachers that the use of community resources in developing a unit of study creates centres of interest which continue to challenge the children's ingenuity over a long period of time.

An excursion to some place in the community, a talk or demonstration by someone who represents one of the community's resources provides the children with an abundance of ideas gained through



seeing, hearing, and often through feeling and touching. It is probably this combination of sensory experiences which creates such a wealth of ideas. From an excursion one child may particularly remember the way a thing looked, and another will remember the way a process was described, and still another may have been allowed to actually manipulate some device or machine. The reactions of each child depend upon his individual nature. The result is a rich sharing of different experiences and the retention of certain definite ideas obtained through first-hand experience.

### Records and Reports

There is an effort to keep together in one place all the information relative to each individual all the way through his school career. This is called the cumulative record folder. In this record is found the family history of the pupil, a record of all the intelligence and achievement tests taken by him, a record of the work done in the school, some indication of his interests and attitudes, his health record, his attendance record, teacher reactions to the individual, and samples of his work. This cumulative record is invaluable in guidance and counselling work with the child.

The informal letter as a means of reporting to parents the growth of their child in the many phases of modern school life has been enthusiastically used and found effective by the majority of Santa Barbara County teachers. Reporting must be as broad as the curriculum. This means that reports should convey data on all educationally significant experiences of the pupils during the year. The following statements are suggestive of the ground to be covered and indicate specific points that may be included in reports as needed.

1. *Description of unit* The nature of units of work under way, materials being studied, etc.
2. *Pupil's problems* The nature of the pupil's problems within the unit and his actions concerning them
3. *Successes* The nature and importance of the pupil's successes in meeting his problems
4. *Failures* The nature of a pupil's failures and the reason for them

5. *Interests* A pupil's interests; suggestions for the continued development of interests which have permanent value
6. *Creative efforts* Description and interpretation of pupil's creative efforts
7. *Growth in expression* Pupil's growth in use of various media and forms of expression
8. *Growth in basic skills* Pupil's growth toward adequate mastery of basic skills
9. *Community contacts* The pupil's contacts with the community and his experiences with original sources of information
10. *Work habits* The pupil's growth in ability to plan intelligently, carry out his plans successfully, and to evaluate his achievements critically and honestly
11. *Attitudes and ideals* The pupil's growth in desirable attitudes and ideals as evidenced in his activities and behaviour
12. *Social adjustment* Problems of the pupil's adjustment to individuals and groups with which he is associated, and steps taken or suggested to improve these adjustments
13. *Physical growth* The pupil's growth in physical skill and co-ordination, in health and understanding of personal hygiene

### Conclusion

The Santa Barbara County programme is constantly growing and changing. It would be impossible for teachers to assume that they had received sufficient training in college to keep up with such a programme. Constant growth and professional development are absolute necessities on the part of the teachers. Opportunities for such growth and development are provided by the county office in many ways. First, a supervisory staff is maintained by that office. Second, consultants from various universities who are specialists in their fields are brought in to work with the teachers on specific problems. Institute programmes are provided throughout the year. All teachers have the opportunity to attend summer school. Workshops are maintained periodically during the summer for the purpose of working on specific teacher problems.

The types of meetings, workshop sessions and lectures selected annually by the members of the teaching group reflect a careful analysis of their own needs and those of the children and a definite desire for improvement in all phases of professional activity. Most of these selections indicate a definite desire on the part of the teachers to improve their own background, to increase their insight into problems of the individual child, and to perfect their teaching techniques. This is the strongest guarantee for the curriculum development programme in the future.



## Teach children **KERB DRILL**

*See that they always do it  
and set a good example  
by doing it yourself.*



1. *At the kerb* **HALT**
2. **EYES RIGHT**
3. **EYES LEFT**  
*then if the road is clear*
4. **QUICK MARCH**  
*Don't rush*  
*Cross in an orderly manner.*



# Teacher Education in the United States

Roscoe L. West

President New Jersey State  
Teachers' College at Trenton

THE American policy of decentralization in government and education must be thoroughly understood because it makes generalization about school conditions very difficult. What may be true in one state may not be true in another, and even within a state care must be taken not to assume that standards are universal. Best and poorest practices can be described and trends can be noted. Averages indicate general tendencies, but it is impossible to point out all of the various exceptions which may occur.

Whereas there is much delegation of authority to local school districts within a state, the responsibility for teacher education is distinctly a 'state' function. The state performs the function in two ways. It sets up patterns of teacher education in institutions which are under the management of state agencies. As a rule these institutions are 'teachers colleges'. In some states they are called 'state colleges', and in most states there is a department of education in the state university. In the eastern part of the country the teachers' colleges usually perform no other function than the education of teachers, but in other states, particularly in the Midwest, Southwest, and Far West, so-called 'teachers colleges' have many students who are taking a general curriculum with no intention of entering teaching. These colleges are becoming regional institutions with many functions, and preparation for teaching is merely one department.

Secondly, the states control the standards of teacher education through the rules of certification which are set up by the state through its board of education or department of education. These rules prescribe the amount and type of education required for certification for different levels and types of teaching positions in the state. Thus candidates may attend any type of college, provided they can secure at that college, or some others, the requirements for certification. These rules are almost always expressed in terms of years of work or courses taken in ap-

proved colleges. Between three-fourths of a year and a year of courses in education and in practice teaching are required. The examination system which was used several years ago has been almost entirely abandoned, except in large cities where local examining boards administer rules peculiar to that city. Most states have reciprocal practices to certify teachers who have been certificated in other states. Many states, however, require particular courses or even set up residence requirements, so that during the past few years transfer of teachers from state to state has become more rather than less difficult. Private colleges whose graduates may wish to teach in one of several states find these rules irksome and difficult to meet. The result of this system is that most colleges and universities in the nation contribute directly or indirectly to the education of teachers. Inasmuch as there are about 1700 colleges, universities, teachers colleges and junior colleges in the United States, it can be seen that the 1,200,000 teachers in the United States come from a very large number of varying types of institutions.

## Effect of Voluntary Associations

One American practice which tends to offset the variations produced by state control of education is the activities of voluntary associations of colleges. Although extra-legal in nature, these organizations have in some ways as much influence as have legal requirements. Many of them develop 'standards' which must be met by institutions desiring accreditation and often institutions which violate standards are dropped from membership. Several associations include both colleges and secondary schools, and the colleges will accept by 'certification' instead of by examination only those students who come from secondary schools approved by the association. Most colleges belong to a regional association and to at least one national association. Thus a teachers' college may belong to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and to the American

Association of Teachers' Colleges and may be accredited by both. A liberal arts college may belong to the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and to the American Association of Colleges. Activities differ, but they usually include an annual meeting, studies and surveys by committees, publications, accrediting and investigating procedures, and various other measures calculated to raise standards and to improve efficiency. The work of the Teacher Education Commission of the American Council on Education, which has conducted studies during the past five years, is another example of the operation of these voluntary associations.

## Where Teachers are Educated

The National Survey of teacher education made in 1931 found that about one-half of the teachers who held degrees came from teachers' colleges or state universities, and the other half from liberal arts colleges and private universities. The director of that survey, Professor E. S. Evenden, of Columbia University, wrote in a recent article, 'Conditions since these data were collected do not indicate any significant change in these proportions.' The half from private institutions included one-third of the elementary teachers, seven-tenths of the junior high school teachers, and eight-tenths of the senior high school teachers. In general, a much larger percentage of elementary teachers than of secondary teachers has been educated in state institutions. Prior to 1925, many 'normal schools' especially in the eastern section of the country, were educating for elementary schools only and were limited to a two-year curriculum. The period from 1925 to 1940 witnessed a transformation of nearly all of the normal schools to teachers' colleges and the extension of their curricula from the education of elementary teachers only to include the education of secondary teachers. Of the 185 schools accredited by the American Association of Teachers' Colleges in 1943, all but seven offered four-year curricula although many of them also offered



curricula less than four years in length. Twenty-nine were approved for graduate work and several others were giving such work but had not applied for approval.

### Recent Improvements in Teacher Education

A period of shortage of teachers, such as existed in the early twenties, makes for increased salaries but for no particular increase in training. On the other hand, a period of surplus of teachers, such as existed in the late twenties and the thirties, makes for increased training with little increase in salary, particularly when the period is also characterized by an economic depression. At the present time the country is again experiencing a shortage of teachers which is growing more and more serious as war needs take men and women from teaching into the armed services and into industry. More than 75,000 teachers from the elementary and secondary schools have entered the armed forces. The result has already been a considerable increase of salaries and the passage by many states of rules permitting the issue of 'emergency' or 'provisional' certificates on less than the standard requirements in force before the war.

In 1925 the advocates of improvement in teacher education were setting forth as a desirable goal a minimum of two years of post high school education for all teachers. The National Survey showed that in 1930-31 about 27 per cent. of the elementary teachers of the country had less than this standard. So rapid has been the progress since 1925 that by 1941, 17 states had passed certification rules requiring four years of post high school education; that is, a bachelor's degree, for elementary teachers. The requirement of four years of such education for high school teaching had become practically universal. In 1939, 60 per cent. of all city teachers had four years or more of preparation. Two states, California and Arizona, had approved a requirement of one year of graduate work for every new high school teacher. New York had also passed a similar rule to take effect in 1945, but the operation of this rule has been postponed on account of the war.

Another item of evidence concerning the advance in quantity of

education for teaching can be found in the length of curriculum pursued by the graduates of institutions in the American Association of Teachers Colleges. In 1927, in 107 teachers colleges, only 22 per cent. of the graduates had taken a four-year curriculum, whereas in 1942 in the same institutions, 80 per cent. had secured a four-year degree.

### How a Teacher is Educated

Let us suppose that a high school senior has decided that he would like to go into teaching. If he lives in one of the eastern states and decides to go to a state teachers' college, he will have to justify his ability to take the teacher education course by his high school record, physical record, a written examination in a few states, and perhaps a personal interview at the college. Most of the institutions in this area have quotas and reject a considerable number of applicants. If he lives in other parts of the country, he will, as a rule, be admitted on the basis of his high school diploma. In most of the eastern colleges he will declare his particular purpose early and take a curriculum which is designed to lead him to certification for that given type of teaching. In many states he will, during the first two years, take general courses, and make his decision as to definite objectives at the end of the second year.

He will find in general that the college will have four objectives for his education. It will give him certain courses designed to extend his cultural and general education. These will be mainly in the fields of literature, social studies, and science. It will give him courses and experiences designed to fit him to teach particular subjects or fields. It will give him courses and experiences like student teaching, designed to provide him with knowledge and skill in the professional aspects of his work. Finally, it will have in mind that by various means, such as dormitory life, student activities, and practical experiences, he must be aided to develop those personal characteristics which will enable him to know how to get along well with people, lead them effectively, and be a person of influence and weight in a community. He will find that the general work is given large emphasis during the first two years

and that the professional aspects grow in emphasis until they occupy considerable time during the senior year. He will have about three-fourths of his work in courses either of a general nature or in preparation for his specific field of teaching and about one-fourth in professional courses and activities.

During his course he will have increasing opportunity to observe and to work in the school maintained by the college, called either a 'training', 'demonstration', or 'laboratory' school. In the early part of his course he will observe lessons taught in this school, and in the second or third year will have opportunity to participate in the school's activities and to make a comprehensive study of children and of the total school. During his senior year he will take a course called 'student teaching' which will either extend over a half-year with about half time devoted to supervised teaching, or be a concentrated period of eight to ten weeks with no other courses. He may take this so-called 'responsible' teaching in a co-operating school in the community where the college is located or even in a community at some distance from the college. In this case he will be supervised jointly by the teacher of the school where he works and by supervisors from the college who visit him several times during the period of his teaching.

In some colleges he will pay no tuition and in others he will pay as much as \$100 per year. If he lives away from home his board and room will cost him somewhere between \$225 and \$325 per year. He will need about \$25 a year for books and perhaps another \$25 for student and club fees. He will not find many scholarships in state institutions because of the low tuition fees, although in some states a certain number, usually not over 10 per cent., are given free tuition on the basis of entrance examinations.

He will find quite a few opportunities for self help by waiting on tables in the dining room and doing other jobs around the college. Between 1934 and 1943 the federal government, through the National Youth Administration, provided money so that colleges could employ students as library helpers, laboratory assistants, and secretarial helpers. The percentage employed



during that time varied from 4 per cent. to 12 per cent. of the enrolment in different years at amounts averaging about \$14.00 per month per student. This plan has now been discontinued by Congress.

When he has finished his course the college placement office will help him secure a teaching position. In a number of the better paying states he will receive an initial salary somewhere between \$800 and \$1500, but in other states he will have to start at a lower figure, even less than \$600, although most of the low-paying positions are filled by teachers who have considerably less than a complete college course. He will usually begin in a small town or country area, as the larger cities require successful experience and pick the best teachers from small communities.

In his first year or two of teaching when he needs much help, he will have to depend, in the main, on his local principal or supervisor, although some colleges plan to visit their graduates during their first years of teaching in order to assist them through their initial difficulties. If he is ambitious for promotion, he will soon begin to take extension and summer school courses at a graduate school of education at a university and may take a year or two off in order to secure his master's or doctor's degree. He will hope that this additional study will qualify him for a position as principal, supervisor, head of a department, superintendent of schools, or instructor in a college.

The conditions listed above will not be changed much if the candidate for teaching goes to a state university instead of to a teachers' college. There he will find somewhat more separation between the department of arts and sciences and the department or division of education than in the teachers' college. In many universities he would find no 'laboratory' school and, therefore, more dependence on public school co-operation for student teaching than in the teachers' colleges. In general, he will find the university more interested in secondary teaching and in administration than in elementary school teaching.

If the candidate for teaching goes to a typical liberal arts college or private university, his expenses

will be much higher than in the state institution. On the other hand, high ranking students will find more scholarships than in the teachers' colleges or the state university. In most liberal arts colleges he would take the type of work which would lead only to secondary school teaching. In some, the department of education will offer opportunities for courses and for student teaching, usually in a co-operating public school system. In some, no such opportunity will be offered, and after completing his course the student will have to attend summer school in a teachers college, or graduate school of a university for his educational work, or he may even have to take an additional year to cover the certification requirements.

### Salary Ranges and Averages

Although the beginning teacher in certain states may start at a salary as high as \$1500 per year, in other states he might not reach this amount even after years of teaching. In New York City, on the other hand, one-half of the high school teachers receive \$4700 per year or more. In general he may not expect to go beyond \$4000 in medium-sized cities and \$3000 in smaller cities. The average salary of all teachers is between \$2000 and \$2500 in only four states, between \$1500 and \$2000 in ten states, between \$1000 and \$1500 in 17, and below \$1000 in 17.

A recent study in Connecticut, which would be listed in the upper 15 per cent. of states from standpoint of salary, for the year 1940-41, illustrates typical ranges and differences between different types of teaching. The salaries of elementary teachers range from \$800 to \$3400 with a median of \$1654; of junior high school teachers, from \$800 to \$3800 with a median of \$2061; of senior high school teachers, from \$900 to \$4000 with a median of \$2009. In 1932-33 the median salaries were as follows: elementary teachers, \$1490; junior high school teachers, \$1844; senior high school teachers, \$2009, thus indicating some advance for elementary and junior high school teachers.

### Teacher Tenure

A teacher is naturally interested in prospects for continued tenure

on the basis of efficient service. In only about one-fourth of the states affecting about the same per cent. of the total number of teachers, is the teacher given 'permanent' tenure following a probationary period, usually three years in length. In most of the other states contracts are made annually which leads in some cases to lack of stability of service. In states which provide for 'permanent' tenure, teachers may be dismissed only by reason of proven inefficiency or items which would be listed as involving 'conduct unbecoming a teacher' or immorality. As a rule, a teacher can appeal against his dismissal to state officers and eventually to the courts.

### Retirement Provisions

A teacher is also interested in financial provisions for retirement. In the United States teachers do not belong to the federal Social Security System. About two-thirds of the states make statewide provision for teacher retirement, most of these being joint contributory plans. In some of these states there are also local systems operating, usually in the large cities. About one-fourth of the teachers in the country can look forward to no retirement security whatever. About fifty per cent. are protected by actuarially sound systems. Under the best of the plans teachers who work 35 years may expect as an annuity and pension an amount equal to one-half the average salary received for the last five years of service, but about one half of all teachers protected can look forward to only \$50 per month or less. Naturally the states paying the lowest salaries have the smallest retirement allowances.

### Improvements Needed in Teacher Education

Progress in teacher education in the United States has been rather rapid during the past fifteen years, but it is evident that much remains to be done if schools are to be equipped with teachers able to educate children adequately for the kind of world which they must face. Students of teacher education seem to be agreed that from the point of view of quantity, four years of college education should be the minimum for every teacher. It will be a long time before that standard can be reached in every



part of the nation, but only thus can a teacher be given the cultural and professional education sufficient to fit her for her tasks. Teachers' college presidents who met in a 'School for Executives' in 1942 listed as the five greatest needs for teacher education improvement from the standpoint of student development—

- (1) Greater participation in health and physical activities,
- (2) Greater emphasis on broad scholarship,
- (3) Broader understanding of social and economic problems,

(4) Increased world consciousness,

(5) Increased participation in community affairs.

From the standpoint of ways of working with students, they listed the following four as the most desired improvements—

(1) Expanded personnel programme,

(2) Better selection of students,

(3) More democratic campus life,

(4) More effective supervision of graduates.

The possibility of carrying out these and other improvements in the United States depends very

definitely on the willingness and desire of the people to give teachers the financial and social recognition which will attract able young people into a profession which gives them rewards and satisfactions equal to other occupations and professions. In many parts of the country such conditions have not existed in the past. For the sake of the young people of the future, it is hoped that the public will see that adequately educated teachers are the foundation of an efficient school system and ultimately of a democratic society capable of operating intelligently.

## Vocational Education in the United States

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VOCATIONAL education programmes in the United States offered in the public schools, which are by law required to be under public supervision and control, are administered on a co-operative basis. The Federal funds are made available through the United States Office of Education, which, in turn, distributes these funds to the states on a population basis. The states then reimburse the local communities for expenditures made, subject to certain standards set up by the states which have prior approval by the United States Office of Education. Here it should be emphasized that in general the Federal Government does not exercise any administrative control over education. The states guard their freedom in educational matters most zealously and most funds are found from state and local sources. When a state does accept a Federal grant, however, the Federal Government can insist upon certain standards and conditions. Yet even under these circumstances a good deal of latitude is allowed in adapting broad principles to local needs.

The Federal law requires each state to administer its programme through a State Board for Vocational Education, which may be the State Board of Education. This Board appoints a State Director for Vocational Education who recommends the appointment of the necessary professional and clerical assistants for his staff.

Each year the State Board for Vocational Education must submit to the United States Commissioner

of Education a comprehensive plan for vocational education within that State. This plan outlines the minimum standards under which the funds will be spent and can be amended at any time. In practice, it is renewed from year to year, with only a few minor changes. The purpose in having the states submit these plans is to permit a flexible Federal programme, which is necessary because of the differences in economic and social characteristics of the 48 states.

The United States Office of Education has a staff of professionally trained personnel who visit the states on a consultant basis and offer specialized services when the states desire to have such assistance. In turn, the professional staff of the state departments of education visit the local communities and assist the local school authorities in the development of its programme, so that the most effective use will be made of funds expended.

The Vocational Education Programme operates through a pattern of Federal aid for education which has proven to operate successfully for more than 25 years. A few basic principles are outlined on the Federal level. These basic principles are interpreted according to the needs of each state.

In addition to the state and Federal boards of education there are Advisory Committees on each level—Federal, state, and local—on which there is equal representation of employees and employers. The state committee acts only in an advisory capacity to the State Director of Vocational Education,

with no administrative authority. It has been found that these advisory committees are most helpful on the local community level in that the members are acquainted with the needs of and opportunities for local employment. In many large industrial communities craft advisory committees are organized to act in an advisory capacity for the operation of a course for a specific craft. In the agricultural programme, farmers' organizations co-operate with the development of the programme in the rural areas.

It is to be remembered that while the in-school youth above 14 years of age participate in a programme of occupational adjustment or vocational education at a secondary school level, a large portion of the vocational education provided is intended for employed individuals. In addition, a number of states have specialists on their staff who work with industry and plants in organizing in-plant training, both in foremanship and supervisory development, apprentice training, and improvement of skill in operations and processes.

### Agricultural Education

The total enrolment in vocational agricultural schools in the United States operating in co-operation with the Federal and state authorities for the scholastic year 1941-42 was 605,099. Of this total, there were 332,939 for the all-day group. This group consisted of youth from agricultural areas 14 to 19 years of age who were attending school on a full-time basis, receiving instruction in vocational agriculture



and operating projects on home farms under the general supervision of the agricultural teacher. In the evening schools there were 214,582 individuals enrolled, consisting mainly of adult farmers who went to the school in the evenings or during the winter period for short intensive courses in some specialized fields such as animal husbandry, poultry raising, crop production, orchard cultivation, farm management, farm machinery repair, etc.

In the part-time group there were 49,977 individuals enrolled. The majority of this group consisted of youth employed on farms who came to school for a short period during the winter months and took intensive courses in vocational agriculture, supplemented by some work in general education.

In the day unit courses there were 7,601 individuals enrolled. Again, in this group, there were individuals generally 15 to 18 years of age, employed on the farm, who returned to school for one or two mornings or afternoons each week during the school year for instruction in specialized phases of agricultural production.

At the present time many states report a serious shortage of vocational agricultural teachers, former teachers having been absorbed in the armed forces, war production industries, or in various types of war activities. So difficult has it been in many states to find teachers, particularly to replace teachers who have resigned, that a number of vocational agricultural departments in rural schools were closed during the year. In some states a single teacher frequently serves in more than one department.

Reflecting the changed situation in agriculture, vocational agricultural courses were modified considerably during the year 1941-42. This modification was due, in part, to the demand for specific farm commodities created by the war. Special emphasis was given in instruction in all-day, part-time and evening classes in problems involved in obtaining production goals in farm products advocated by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Continued emphasis was given during the year to mechanical courses for out-of-school rural and urban youth. This training, much of which is given in vocational agriculture departments in rural

schools, is designed to provide instruction in the production of farm commodities and in the repair, operation, and construction of farm machinery and equipment needed in connection with the Government's food production goals.

Supervised farm practice programmes of all-day vocational agriculture students, like classroom instruction, has been formulated and carried out to a considerable degree with a view to meeting food production requirements emphasized by the Government to meet the conditions of the local community. Continued attention is being focussed on a long-time, comprehensive programme of supervised farm practice.

To facilitate the financing of these projects, many teachers assist students in arranging for financial credit from local production credit associations and other such agencies.

#### **Qualifications of Teachers**

Preferably, a teacher should have been farm reared. He shall have had at least two years of farm experience after becoming 14 years of age.

A teacher shall be a graduate of a four-year curriculum in agriculture in a standard college or university and have completed at least sixteen semester hours in education, including courses in agricultural education. A minimum of 40 per cent. of the time in this four-year curriculum shall have been devoted to courses in technical agriculture, approximately 25 per cent. to courses in related science, approximately 20 per cent. to general subjects, and approximately 15 per cent. to courses in professional education.

A teacher shall have a sympathetic understanding of rural life, and possess those qualities of leadership which will command the respect and co-operation of his students, fellow teachers, and adult farmers in his community.

During the war period there has been great emphasis placed on the repair of farm machinery and the preservation of food through community farm machinery repair centres and canning centres, respectively. The food processing and preservation centres are operated in co-operation with the local home economics teachers.

There is a national organization

of secondary school youths enrolled in agricultural courses which has been developed through the efforts of the agricultural supervisors and teachers. This organization is known as the Future Farmers of America. The total active membership for the year 1941-42 was 245,800 in 7,500 local chapters operating in 47 states, exclusive of Hawaii and Puerto Rico. This organization has done much to encourage rural youth to remain on the farm in those places where they are needed and not migrate to industrial areas.

#### **Business Education**

This phase of vocational education was not developed on a national basis until the enactment of the George-Deen law in 1937, which included funds for offering courses in Distributive Education (retail selling). The secondary schools of America have offered stenographic and typing courses for some time, but it is a generally accepted fact that they have not been too effective because of the lack of general direction in purpose and selection of students.

The enrolment in Distributive Education (retail selling) courses grew from a total of 36,008 in 1938 to 215,049 in 1942.

The requirements for the use of funds for these courses are that the individuals must be employed while attending high school. In other words, it is the use of the co-operative part-time programme of vocational education in which the youth spends half time in school and half time in employment under the supervision of a local co-ordinator who endeavours to integrate their educational experiences with their work experiences. The shortage of manpower in America has given a great impetus to this programme, and no doubt during the current year it will double the enrolment for 1942. Again, the teachers and co-ordinators for these courses must be experienced in the field of merchandising, have a college education, majoring in business management and economics, and show the proper characteristics so necessary in assisting youth make the most effective occupational adjustment.

#### **Home Economics Education**

Home economics education programmes of training emphasize



home management, foods and clothing, child care, home and family living, budgeting, home decoration, art in the home. Special attention also being given to the school lunch programme. Home economics teachers and supervisors participate in these programmes by promoting school lunch plans in elementary and secondary schools, serving as members of school lunch committees and assisting teachers in subjects other than home economics in making the school lunch an integral part of the school programme. In some states, home economics teachers supervise the lunch room or school cafeteria and plan the menus; in others, home economics pupils assist in the preparation of lunches. All school lunch rooms are operated on a non-profit basis, but in general are self-supporting.

Home economics teachers cooperate with various governmental and other agencies whose activities relate to efficient homemaking. The co-operative activities vary in different states. In some states they work with the Federal Housing Authority in organizing and conducting classes in housing projects; with the Farm Credit Administration and vocational agricultural teachers in a co-operative farm and home programme for families carrying loans with the Federal Land Bank.

#### Enrolments

In all types of home economics offered during the year 1941-42 there were 954,041 individuals enrolled. In the evening classes there were courses offered to 295,724 out-of-school youth and adults. In part-time classes, where the individuals were employed in homemaking on a part-time basis and attended school part time, there were 91,494. Emphasis on this programme is placed in the all-day school, in which there were 566,823 individuals enrolled.

#### Trade and Industrial Education

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value is placed on the assistance rendered by the state and local advisory committees in consulting with the administrators of this programme. These advisory committees have equal representation of employers and employees.

The total enrolment for the trade and industrial classes for the year 1941-42 was 850,597; evening classes, for those employed in industry, 85,207; trade extension or trade preparatory classes, 348,966; co-operative classes, where individuals spend half-time in school and half-time in industry, 13,190; general education classes for youth who have left school and obtained full time employment, returning to school approximately four hours per week to continue their general education, 105,783; all day classes, for the youth in school on a full time basis preparing for employment in industry, 297,451.

#### Occupational Information and Guidance

The programme of occupational information and guidance which is operated on a co-operative basis between the states and Federal Government is relatively new. It did not begin until 1938, and at the present time is limited to professional service in the State offices only. Since that time, Federal funds have been used to assist the states in financing an occupational information and guid-

ance service in the state offices by appointing a state supervisor and giving him the necessary clerical assistants. During the intervening five years there has been a considerable growth in this all important phase of educational service. As a result, local school boards are placing increased emphasis on the importance of counselling and guidance service to the in-school youth and in some communities this same service is offered to adults through evening schools and occupational adjustment clinics.

In conclusion, the programme of vocational education developed in the United States is flexible, purposely, so that it can be readily adjusted to economic and employment conditions on local, or state, level. The state plans which are submitted for approval to the United States Office of Education vary, and when approval is given, the particular state's economic and social conditions are considered. In this way there is no Federal domination and the states operate their own programmes subject to broad basic minimum requirements and policies which are used by the United States Office of Education. However, in developing these standards and policies applied on a Federal level, the United States Office of Education has called in representatives from the states and local communities to discuss such proposed policies before making them effective.



# Child Guidance

Milton E. Kirkpatrick, M.D.

Director, Division on Community Clinics National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City and Medical Director, Institute of Mental Hygiene of New Orleans

**C**ONSISTENT development of child guidance clinics over the past thirty years has been one of the highlights of the mental hygiene movement in the United States. From a modest beginning at the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in Chicago in 1909, the number of clinics has grown to the point where we now have eighty full-time clinics rendering psychiatric and psychological service to children, and there are in the neighbourhood of eight hundred other clinics that render service on a more or less regular schedule but on a part-time basis. I would like to confine my comments to the full-time child guidance clinics because of the similarity of their procedures. The part-time clinics are mostly operated as a part of the out-patient programme of our general hospitals in urban areas, and there are a large number of so-called travelling clinics operated by the state mental hospitals that visit rural communities, at intervals varying from one day a week to a couple of days three or four times a year.

The child guidance clinic may be defined as a community agency in which the psychiatrist, the psychologist and the psychiatric social worker combine their knowledge of causation and treatment in order that they may help the child to make a better social adjustment to his total environment. These clinics came into existence in order to observe and study the problem of juvenile delinquency. This focus of attention changed quite early. All clinics are still concerned about the delinquent child; he is not, however, their sole interest. Delinquency is so often a sociological problem, and the forces responsible for it are not easily modified by the child guidance clinic. Where delinquency is the result of emotional conflict, it quite naturally lends itself to therapy, as does any other conflict type of situation.

We have been slow to recognize differences in intellectual capacity. In fact, there is a current belief that individual success is limited only by the effort one is willing to make to attain it. Too few persons dealing with children recognize the

implications of limitations of intelligence. The child guidance clinic, after studying children, was able to point out to teachers and parents that children varied in intelligence and ability to achieve and that we could not expect to mould them all in the same pattern. The historical development of practically every child guidance clinic shows that in the beginning a great deal of time was spent in giving psychological tests to children of low intelligence in order that those who were responsible for them could make more intelligent plans for their futures. The clinics were interested in school failures, undesirable habits and personality patterns which were complicated by physical conditions such as epilepsy, infantile paralysis, etc. There has been a general trend over a period of years for the clinic staff to consider the child in his total situation with regard to his amenability to treatment and capacity to change.

## Financing Child Guidance Clinics

Several foundations, especially the Commonwealth Fund, have been interested in and willing to give financial help to the child guidance movement. The Commonwealth Fund financed the early demonstration clinics and for the past eighteen years has supported the Division on Community Clinics of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. The clinics themselves are chiefly supported by Community Chests in the cities in which they are located. The Community Chest has been both the layman's and the professional worker's solution to the financial support of private agencies in its community — one financial drive each year being sufficient to finance all the participating agencies. There are a number of clinics that are financed by medical schools, and while they are rendering a rather typical child guidance service, nevertheless their emphasis is on medical teaching. The objective is to provide the student in medicine with some information on children's behaviour which will be helpful to him in his general medical work. The public schools have been the

most consistent sources of referral to our child guidance clinics, but they have been very slow to develop clinical programmes within their own organization. The Bureau of Child Guidance of the New York Public Schools has a programme which is outstanding. Several other Boards of Education have developed clinics on a less elaborate scale. A number of clinics are supported by private endowments and this number seems to be increasing. Several of these grew out of a privately financed child welfare programme which had as its nucleus custodial care.

There must be in their community a group of citizens responsible for the child guidance clinic and its programme. The Board of Directors is usually chosen because of their interest in this field. Two errors which have been rather consistently observed might well be enumerated. First, Boards of Directors tend to perpetuate themselves, thereby limiting to a certain extent the development of child guidance clinic interest on the part of numerous other intelligent laymen in the community who might very well make a generous contribution to clinic development. Again, it has frequently been observed that clinic Boards have been made up of professional people connected with other agencies and their primary allegiance is to their own agency and not to the clinic. In spite of their best efforts there is a tendency to view the clinic through the eyes of their own agency and its needs. It is the responsibility of the Board of Directors to assist in interpreting the clinic to the community, to support the clinic programme educationally and to arrange for its financial support by some responsible sources.

## Training the Clinic Team

Reference has previously been made to the personnel of the child guidance clinic, and at this point we would be very specific in indicating the importance of having specially trained people to carry out this professional programme. In the beginning we had no psychiatrists who were trained in the



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Recognition and treatment of behaviour problems in children and child psychiatry was not even a recognized branch of general psychiatry. It became necessary with the aid of fellowships to train psychiatrists for child guidance clinic work. This was done by carefully selecting psychiatrists who had both an interest in children and an interest in a community type of mental hygiene and giving them a year's training in a child guidance clinic under the supervision of a competent clinic director. These fellowships have been financed by foundations and also under private auspices. To date one hundred and seventy-five psychiatrists have been trained for the child guidance field, and there are at present fourteen fellowships, many of which cannot be filled because of the unavailability of psychiatrists for the duration of the year.

Training of clinical psychologists has not been under the auspices of either psychiatry or the child guidance clinics, although a number of training fellowships are annually offered. The clinic psychologist, after having academic instruction,

has numerous opportunities to gain experience in psychiatric hospitals and clinics. It is extremely important that he be able to recognize his contribution as a part of the total study of the individual. The same applies, of course, to the other professional people in the clinic.

In adapting herself to the programme of a psychiatric clinic it has been necessary for the social worker to concern herself almost exclusively with the inner motivations of people and to weigh very carefully the reasons why they are contacting the clinic for service. Many of these problems are internal in that they are related to the individual's attitudes and have very little relationship to external factors such as unemployment, relief, physical health, etc. The psychiatric social worker, not being in a position where she gives financial and material aid to people, has to offer only herself and her understanding of people and their attitudes to the treatment situation. It becomes obvious at this point that there is much more to being a competent and successful psychiatric social worker than just having a certain amount of acad-

emic training for the job. The maturity of her own personality is extremely important and there should be an absence of any emotional drive on her part to exert any pressure whatever to make the client change so that his pattern of living will conform to what she thinks it should be. It is important that the psychiatric social worker be able to relate her case work procedures with parents to the work that the psychiatrist and psychologist are doing with the child. It is the psychiatrist's job to help the individual to gain insight into those unconscious conflicts which are distorting his daily life. It has been said that psychiatric case work deals with external and environmental factors and the conscious attitudes that clients have toward them.

### Limits of Usefulness

In the early history of every child guidance clinic it is discovered that those making referrals, not knowing what type of case to refer, usually send to the clinic a wide variety of hopeless situations such as feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, chronic juvenile delinquency, etc.



This is to be expected as these are the cases which have caused the most concern and they are looking to the clinic for some assistance in solving these ever present problems. Social agencies, such as a Children's Bureau, a family welfare society and the Juvenile Court, are probably the most consistent sources of referral. Of recent years, since clinics have been achieving some stature in their communities and becoming more widely known through their educational activities, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of referrals from parents until now cases from this source constitute about fifty per cent. of all our referrals. The clinics as they have gained more confidence in their own pronouncements have been much more willing to face their incompetency in certain areas and, henceforth, have no reluctance in rejecting cases that they cannot help. Previously our limitations often influenced us toward accepting some impossible treatment situations with the forlorn hope that by some miraculous turn of events our client would be able to profit by what little we had to offer. During the past few years clinics throughout the country have been much more discriminating at the referral interview.

The child guidance clinic, supported by a local community chest and a very definite part of the community social welfare programme, owes a certain obligation to other case working agencies in that it should exhaust all of its resources in helping agency workers handle difficult problems which they must carry by virtue of their designated function in the community. For example, a children's agency will have legal custody of several feeble minded children, and it is necessary for them to have some knowledge of the limitations and capabilities of these children if they are to proceed intelligently with their foster home placement. On the other hand, clinics have felt quite justified in refusing to accept cases where the sole reason for referral was to get an I.Q. on the child. It is also universally recognized that those who profit most from child guidance clinic treatment are parents and children who come willingly with the sincere desire for help and an expressed willingness to give their wholehearted co-operation to the solution of the presenting

problem. This attitude on the part of parents is not as common as we would like. All clinics are familiar with parents who come because of pressure exerted by the school or the Juvenile Court, saying to the case worker at the time of the referral: 'Why do I have to come to this place? There is nothing wrong with my children.' There are those who would say that it is the function of the child guidance clinic to change the attitude of these persons, but I would remind the reader that it is very difficult to change the attitude and the thinking of a child and it is much more difficult to change the emotional attitudes of his parents. Much valuable time can be wasted in attempting to change the attitudes and behaviour of people who are perfectly satisfied with the way they are living and have not the slightest desire to change their attitudes so that they will conform to the thinking of another person. The intake interview, when the case is referred to the clinic, should bring out this as well as other very important points.

#### **Preliminary Study : Child and Parents**

The initial study of the child in the clinic usually consists of a rather extensive psychological examination. This may run all the way from the administration of one or two psychological tests to a full and complete psychological evaluation including aptitude testing and the administration of a Rorschach personality test. The objective of the psychological examination is not to establish an I.Q. but rather to give as full and complete a picture as possible of the intellectual capacities and limitations of the child being studied. Consequently, this calls for an ample amount of time and a very thorough-going knowledge of psychological tests themselves. Following the psychological examination, the child is usually seen by the psychiatrist in order that a clinical diagnosis may be made and some insight gained into motives back of the child's behaviour and his attitude toward his family, teachers and other important persons with whom he comes in contact. Older children respond quite readily to an interview along conversational lines. Small children are much more reluctant to

talk about their problems, and many times they are not too aware that they have a problem. Various forms of play technique, drawing and finger painting have been used quite successfully in the treatment of younger children. I wish to point out specifically that the objective in using these methods of treatment is to help the child; consequently, the materials that are chosen for him to work with must be selected carefully in terms of the change that the therapist would like to bring about. This excludes an indiscriminate and unorganized use of play material without adequate planning in terms of what should happen in the play session. For example, timid, shy children often need the security of a play room in order that their repressed and hostile impulses can find free expression. It is not uncommon for such a child to show a great deal of aggression and hostility in his play after he gains security with his therapist.

While the preliminary studies are being made on the child, the mother discusses with the social worker the day by day relationship she has with the children in her home. Taking a social history is not only a laborious task for a social worker, but it is an exhausting and often traumatic experience for the mother. Long histories used to give us confidence because after having read one we felt we knew so much about the child. It is current practice to limit interviews with mothers to an hour and let them proceed largely at their own pace or with a minimum of direction, always leaving some important topics to discuss at the next interview. In this way the mother gradually works herself into a treatment situation, and the case worker has an opportunity to make specific suggestions and to solve some individual problems.

I mentioned in the beginning that the child guidance clinic was an agency in which the psychiatrist, the clinical psychologist and the psychiatric social worker collaborated. The case conference at the end of an initial period of study is the best example of what this means. Each professional worker who has been involved in the study of the child and his parent reports on his findings and plans are made for future management of the case. It may be that an initial study was



all that was requested and indicated. In such a case a detailed formulation is sent to the referring agency or in case the child is referred by a parent the clinic's decision is given orally in a personal interview. Providing the case presents certain possibilities for the modification of the child's behaviour and the mother's attitude, and treatment is desirable, this is also taken up verbally and plans are formulated for the future conduct of the case.

### Categories of Problems Treated

Problems referred to a child guidance clinic do not lend themselves readily to classification. There are, however, three general categories of problems which are listed merely for convenience, and the first of these is in the habit field. Included are problems incidental to feeding, refusal to eat, rejection of certain types of food, thumb sucking, enuresis, defects in toilet training, etc. Many problems in this field grow out of the inability of the parent to adopt and consistently maintain satisfactory habit training for the child. In many instances, however, it is due to actual ignorance as to what one should do. We are secondly concerned with problems more intimately related to the personality structure of the child. Studies have revealed that teachers in particular are more concerned about the aggressive, dominating problem child than they are about the very shy, modest and conforming. Shyness and withdrawal is probably one of the most serious problems of childhood, and all too often its severity is unrecognized. The aggressive child is a problem to his classroom teacher and in the home. He is already giving indication of a need to control people and situations in order that they may serve his own ends. Sleep-walking, disobedience and jealousy are also frequent manifestations of disorders of the personality. The third group of problems centres around anti-social conduct. I do not mean to indicate that this kind of symptomatic behaviour is not indicative of personality distortion but we are considering symptoms, and as I have already said they do not lend themselves adequately to classification. In this group go

children who steal, set fires, truant from school, run away from home, or are sexually delinquent.

It has been said erroneously, and I often think unkindly, that if there were no problem parents there would be no 'so-called' problem children. I know of no reason why one should expect perfection in parenthood any more than in any other realm of human activity. The fact remains that we have not paid sufficient consideration to the problems involved in being a good parent. The child guidance clinic has for years been an exponent of public education with the view to enlightening parents as to the nature of some of the normal problems they might anticipate in growing children. This is difficult because the average mother always thinks in terms of her own problem, and it is so complicated that mere advice on what to do and what not to do often avails her little. Perhaps the most useful thing that is done in the field of public education by the child guidance clinic is the conducting of study groups for mothers of young children and repeating these courses each year over a period of time so that mental hygiene information on the problems of childhood may become as widely disseminated as possible.

The professional staff of many of our child guidance clinics is collaborating very actively with many of our graduate schools. The psychiatrist is often an associate

professor in the Department of Psychiatry or the Department of Pediatrics. There are many who believe that the pediatrician should be better informed on the importance of the emotional factors complicating the illnesses of children. Psychiatrists and social workers of the clinic staff are actively engaged in teaching in the schools of social work. There is such a shortage of trained personnel in this field that it will be necessary for all to redouble their efforts if we are to achieve any competency in meeting our social work problems in the post war period.

Research has always been an outstanding activity in the child guidance field, although there is not as much as we would like to see. Research stems from an innate curiosity, among other things, and one does not deliberately sit down to do a research project. Professional workers in this field have been steady contributors to the literature, and one of our outstanding journals, the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, which is the official organ of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, is devoted exclusively to presentation of subjects in both the children's and adult fields.

The child guidance clinic, by virtue of the service it has rendered to children and parents as well as social agencies, has earned for itself a permanent place in the social work structure of the community.

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Sybil A. Stone

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## The Nature of Delinquency

DICK was an intelligent boy, 13 years of age, and yet he was failing in school, had run away from home, and had been involved in episodes of stealing. The school, the police, and the juvenile court were puzzled. What caused Dick's unacceptable behaviour?

The school social worker was asked for an opinion, and she in turn called upon the psychiatrist and psychologist of the local child-guidance clinic for help in understanding Dick. After a period of observation, study and treatment, the following summary of the causes of Dick's maladjustment was written<sup>1</sup>:

'He was found to be under extreme emotional tension, unstable in his reactions and behaviour, and extremely fearful of his father. At first there was no open expression of hostility or antagonism toward his father, but later he became violently rebellious and destructive in school—apparently a direct projection of this strong hostility. As his hatred and hostility became more conscious, it was accompanied by extreme conflict and guilt. His conflict found expression in his running away from home, and later, from several of his boarding homes; in his lying and stealing; in his inability to achieve in school; and in his dramatic pretence of becoming intoxicated.'

With but slight variation this statement might be used to describe the beginning of many a delinquent career, the antisocial conduct proving to be but a symptom that frequently appears when in the course of his development a child has been thwarted, deprived of affection and understanding, or subjected to unwholesome influences.

For Dick, the deprivation and frustration were sufficiently acute in peacetime to make him turn to delinquency in an effort to solve his problems. There are children, however, who in a peacetime world

might have arrived at a socially accepted solution, but who under the additional stresses and strains of war have turned to delinquent behaviour. The recent increase in delinquency in certain war-congested areas in the United States has tended to heighten our concern with such children, and although recognizing that juvenile delinquency is not a new problem, we are examining our treatment methods with greater care. In doing this, our concern is not only with the children who have been brought to the attention of the police and juvenile courts of the country, but also with the larger group of children who by virtue of their problems are resorting to behaviour which, if unchecked, may result in delinquency.

## The Treatment of Delinquency

If delinquency is but a symptom of more basic difficulties in the child's development, for successful treatment of a child with behaviour problems we must look beyond the delinquent act to the meaning that the act holds for the child. Such investigations will reveal that although the symptoms, such as stealing and running away, may be the same, the meaning of these symptoms to each child varies greatly; and just as the physician will not prescribe the same treatment for a fever that results from tuberculosis as for one that results from pneumonia, so we as psychologists, teachers, and social workers shall not use the same treatment methods for stealing that is, as in Dick's case, a symptom of hostility toward a parent and stealing that is, for example, the result of attempting to compensate for some physical defect.

Our treatment, if it is to be successful, will be highly individualistic. It will demand careful observation of each child in order to understand what his delinquency means to him and how best he can be helped to obtain, without stepping outside the framework of the law, the satisfactions of which he has been deprived. It will demand study not only of the structure of the child's personality with its strengths and weaknesses, but also

of the assets and liabilities of his physical constitution and of his environment. It must go even further and study these factors not as isolated entities, but in their ways of reacting one upon the other to result in delinquent behaviour. Then, with as complete an understanding of the child's delinquency as is possible, a plan of treatment and rehabilitation must be charted that will strike at the roots of his difficulty and either correct or make ineffective those factors that have contributed to his unhappiness.

Where do we turn for this study? To what agencies and what professions do we assign the study and treatment of juvenile delinquency? In the United States we have looked to each agency and each profession that has focussed its attention upon children, with the hope that this approach or that technique would prove the answer to our problem. We looked hopefully to the schools as their programmes were planned more and more around the needs of the individual child. We looked to the juvenile courts, with their emphasis on discovering the basic needs of the child rather than on punishing the specific act responsible for his appearance in court. Perhaps, we thought, we would find the answer in our training schools for delinquent children, or if not there, perhaps we would discover that placement in foster homes would prove effective. Group work and recreation might prove to be the treatment needed, as well as a preventive measure. With high hopes we looked to the child-guidance clinic with its psychiatric, psychological, and case-work services.

Each has made its contribution to the treatment of delinquency, but we have found that no one of them, working alone, is able to solve the problem. Gradually we are emerging from this period of trying to place the responsibility for the identification and treatment of juvenile delinquency upon any one agency or any one group of professional workers and are realizing that it is only by using to the fullest the techniques and pro-

<sup>1</sup> From a case record of the St. Paul Community Project of the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labour.



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visions offered by each group that we can treat delinquency already established or prevent its developing where the ground is fertile.

What are the contributions to be made by these agencies, and how effective are they? Are there services available to all the children who need them?

In attempting to answer these questions, one runs the risk either of oversimplifying the picture or of becoming lost in a maze of detail in trying to present the wide variation that exists from State to State, and even within States, as a result of differences in laws, financial support, and interest. Uneven development is a characteristic of services for the treatment of delinquency on a nation-wide basis. States that have forged ahead in the establishment of one service often have lagged behind in the development of others. Wherever possible in this discussion, some indication of the amount and quality on a Nation-wide basis of the service described will be given, but often such information is not available, and the general statement that the procedures are varied and represent many stages in the de-

velopment of these facilities must suffice.

### The Role of the School

The school has an important contribution to make both in the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Since most children from 6 to 16 years of age must attend school, teachers have an opportunity to observe the majority of children in the country as they face their day-by-day tasks. Hence, the alert teacher can often spot early symptoms of maladjustment, such as unexplained failure, conflict with other children, or truancy long before they have reached the proportions of serious delinquent behaviour. At this early stage, treatment may be a fairly simple matter. It may call for an adjustment in the child's academic programme so that it more nearly meets his intellectual requirements; it may call for introducing the child to group activities in which, under trained leadership, he will develop skills that will enable him to get on with his contemporaries. Even at an early age, however, study of a child with behaviour problems may reveal

the need for more intensive treatment. In such a case the early identification of his difficulties may make all the difference between a successful or unsuccessful career in the future.

Many school systems, recognizing their strategic position and the need for early identification, have provided special services for the purpose of diagnosis and treatment. The school social worker, with her training in both education and social service, is in a position either to work with the child and his family herself in an effort to bring about a more satisfactory adjustment, or through her knowledge of community resources to seek the help of other agencies. Child-study departments with psychiatric and psychological service have also been developed within school systems to help in the treatment of children with problems, whether they be of a delinquent or a non-delinquent nature. Special schools with facilities for more individualized programmes have been established. Here children whose conduct is such that it interferes with the regular class procedures, receive special study and have a programme



developed around their special needs.

In comparatively few school systems are such adequate facilities available, but in those schools unable to provide services within the system itself, there is an increasing awareness of the need to call upon similar services in the agencies of the community. The agencies in turn are looking to the schools to help in the treatment, not only of children who are problems in school, but those whose behaviour in school may have been satisfactory but who are having difficulty at home or in the community. The acceptance and interest of a firm but sympathetic teacher who understands the difficulties the child is facing, even though that acceptance and interest must be shared with 30 or 40 others in the class, have many times helped to offset unsatisfying relationships at home and proved an important factor in preventing the continuance of a delinquent career.

Many schools, particularly in rural areas, are not fortunate enough to have a variety of services available in the community to help them understand and treat children with problems. The development of child-welfare services, however, is opening a way for providing more adequate treatment service to the delinquent and neglected children of rural areas.

### **Services to Children in Their Own Homes**

In 1935 the Social Security Act was passed; it authorized an annual appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Federal Government, through the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour, to co-operate with State public welfare agencies for the protection and care of homeless, dependent and neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent. Although Federal funds were to be expended especially for service in 'areas predominantly rural and other areas of special need', the passage of the act has also made it possible for local public welfare agencies with responsibility for services to children to expand on a broad scale throughout the country as a whole, so that now, although coverage is still far from complete within the States, every State welfare agency makes some pro-

vision for the development of local child-welfare service.

It is the responsibility of the child-welfare worker, whether operating in rural areas with meagre facilities or in an urban community well equipped with agencies for specialized services, to stimulate community interest in providing services for children with problems and, in the case of the individual delinquent, to see that appropriate treatment is received. In doing this she will work with the child and his family in an effort to help them come to a clearer understanding of the child's difficulties. She will consult with the school, with the group-work, health, and family agencies, with the child-guidance clinic and the juvenile court, as needed, in order that the best possible plan for treatment of the child may be made.

Many children who have turned to delinquency in an attempt to gain the satisfactions they have failed to obtain through socially approved activities, are found to be so strongly conditioned by failure to establish satisfactory affectional relationships with their own families that they form even temporary attachments to other adults or to children their own age with great difficulty, if at all. Some by their aggressive and hostile behaviour antagonize the groups and individuals with whom they come into contact; others, because of their own feeling of insecurity, withdraw from all group activities.

Psychotherapy by the case worker, psychologist, or psychiatrist will be needed in many of these cases to help the child understand the relation between his early affectional deprivations and his present difficulties, but understanding alone will not suffice. Habits of long standing may still block the way to satisfactory group associations and, again meeting with defeat and discouragement, the child may once more resort to delinquency. Aware of the difficulties that he is bound to encounter when he attempts, even with the insight he has gained through psychotherapy, to join with his contemporaries in group activities, the treatment programme, if possible, will call upon the group-work agencies in the community to help solve this problem. Although by far the majority of the group-work programmes are organized around

the needs of the normally developing child, some agencies working closely with the case workers of the community are organizing small and carefully selected groups for children who are unable to obtain satisfactions in the less-protected setting. Here the professionally trained group leader well acquainted with each child's problems and the probable interaction of one child upon another, plans and controls the activities of the group so that each child is given an opportunity to develop the social skills necessary for getting on with others, skills that he has failed to develop because of his early dissatisfactions. Although making many mistakes and often falling back upon his undesirable patterns, the aggressive child in this setting gradually learns that he need not fight for recognition but can gain it by contributing to the group activities in a more positive fashion, whereas the fearful child finds that his contribution is met with the same interest as those of other members of the group and thus gains confidence in himself and in his abilities.

Such closely integrated case-work and group-work activity is still limited to a few agencies in the larger cities. Fortunately, many children merely need the opportunity for healthful group activities, and for them the facilities are more adequate, although there is still need for expansion. For some the group-work agencies with planned objectives and systems of award will fill the need. Others will find their satisfactions in the less closely organized social clubs of church and school. A careful treatment programme will assess the child's need for healthful group activities and will inasfar as possible see that the need is met by the agency best equipped to handle it.

### **The Juvenile Court**

The juvenile courts of the country have been established to have jurisdiction over all cases of delinquency, and although delinquency is variously defined, it usually includes not only the violation of laws and ordinances but such acts and conditions as incorrigibility, truancy, and association with immoral and vicious individuals. This broad definition of delinquency is derived from the concept that the delinquent child needs the protection, care and, if necessary,



custody of the State, not punishment by the State, and it is the responsibility of the court to discover the child's basic needs and provide for their fulfilment.

In accordance with this concept no minimum age is set at which a child may be brought before the court; in practice, however, the numbers under the age of 10 are relatively small. The maximum age for jurisdiction varies. In 39 States and the District of Columbia the age limit is the same for boys and girls. Sixteen years of age is the upper limit set in 8 of these States; 17 in 6; 18 in 23; and 21 in 3. Six States set different age limits for boys and girls, and three have different age limits in different parts of the State. With the enactment of new laws and the amendment of others there is a trend toward raising the upper age limit to 18 years. All but two States in the United States have enacted juvenile court laws, and in these two some special provisions for the hearing of children's cases is made.

In keeping with the basic philosophy of the juvenile court—that it has a parental obligation to the delinquent child — progressive courts have called upon all available resources to help them understand the child and provide the treatment needed. Most juvenile court laws authorize the appointment of probation officers. These officers furnish case-work service to the court, both in helping to obtain all facts on the total situation and in seeing that the services indicated are received by the child who is found delinquent. This may involve treatment of the child in his own home or, in cases of neglect or when the child's family is unable to provide the necessary care, placement in a foster home or institution.

### Foster Home Care

Wherever the necessary facilities are available and the child's problem is such that successful treatment in his own home seems probable, community services are mobilized to help strengthen the child's resistance to harmful influences and to help his family understand and better handle his problems.

Nevertheless, for some children, the home and community conditions to which they are reacting

contain so many unwholesome influences and offer so little opportunity for change that removal from the environmental hazards surrounding the children is a necessary first step in treatment. Or possibly the child's own disturbance is so acute and his behaviour so uncontrolled that the community cannot provide sufficient protection to prevent injury to himself or to others. Under these conditions, also, placement in a more controlled environment will be needed before an effective treatment programme can be carried out.

For the group of children reacting to unwholesome or corrupting environmental conditions, foster-home placement often appears a necessary provision. Here in a normal family group an effort is made to give the child an opportunity to experience the satisfactions of which he has been deprived and to form affectional ties that have been denied him in his own home.

But placement in a foster home where the interest and affection of the new family can be depended upon is but a first step in the treatment programme. The child already insecure in his own home does not immediately develop close affectional ties to his foster parents, nor does he immediately stop his undesirable behaviour. Case-work service by the placement agency must be provided to help the child understand and control his behaviour and to give the foster parents an understanding of the problems the child is facing and how they may be best handled. Child-guidance, group-work, school, church, and health services must be brought into the treatment programme as needed in the same manner as to the child in his own home.

### Training Schools

For the child whose behaviour necessitates controls beyond those that can be provided in a community setting, or for the child too strongly attached to his own family to develop satisfactory relationships in a foster-family setting, the relatively impersonal and controlled atmosphere of an institution or training school may seem indicated. Nowhere is there wider variation than in the equipment and procedures of training schools and institutions throughout the country.

It is generally accepted that training schools should incorporate in their programmes progressive educational health and guidance procedures in an atmosphere of healthy community living. Here working closely with the community to which the child will return, a plan of treatment should be developed that will take into consideration the activities of the child for the 24 hours of the day. Not only will his educational and recreational programmes be carefully planned, but he will be assigned to live in a group where the personalities of the staff members and other children seem likely to offer the stimulation and controls that he will need. He will receive individual counselling, both to help him meet the problems he encounters in adjusting to the institution life and to prepare him for his later community adjustment. When the indicated treatment in the institution has been completed, care will be taken to see that the necessary resources for his continued adjustment are available in the community to which he returns.

Contacts with members of his family will have been continued by community agencies or the institution in an effort to help them better understand and meet the needs of the child when he returns. Or if the home is so lacking in constructive factors that return is inadvisable, the foster home or other living and working arrangements for the child will be carefully selected in the light of his needs and future plans.

In actual practice, however, programmes range from those of this pattern to those that have not advanced beyond a concept of physical care and supervision to prevent escape.

The public institutions or training schools for delinquents generally receive their children through court commitment and of necessity must make provision for those children for whom the outlook is not hopeful. In January 1942, 112 State Institutions were listed in a directory<sup>1</sup> of publicly supported training schools, and schools had been established by all State governments, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Of the 112 State

<sup>1</sup> Directory of State, District of Columbia, County and Municipal Training Schools Caring for Delinquent Children in the United States, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labour Washington, 1943.



institutions, reports from 108 revealed that 52 cared for boys only, 45 for girls only, and 11 made provisions for both boys and girls. Of the four schools in the District of Columbia, two care for boys only, one for girls only, and one for both boys and girls. In addition, 51 county or municipal schools were listed. Reports from 49 of these revealed that 26 cared for boys only, 14 cared for girls only, and nine cared for both boys and girls.

Population reports revealed that a total of 29,436 children, 20,901 boys and 8,535 girls, were under the care of either State schools, county or municipal schools, or the four schools serving the District of Columbia.

Although in some States the development of separate institutions for younger and older groups and the establishment of several

small institutions in place of one large one makes possible a differentiation in function according to the treatment needs of the children, by far the majority of the institutions are faced with the problem of providing treatment services for children of varying ages and intelligence levels with a wide variety of conduct problems.

In addition to the public training schools, many schools have been established under private auspices. These institutions are in a somewhat more favourable position than the ones supported at public expense in that they are able to limit their intake and select only those children who appear able to profit from the type of treatment offered.

### Summary

Briefly, the treatment of delinquency, whether in the child's own

home, in a foster home, or in the training school must call upon all the existing services to children to make their contribution in a well-integrated programme developed around each child's needs. Not all services will be needed for each child, but there is no service that does not have a role to play in the treatment of some child's problem. With an estimated 200,000 children coming before the juvenile courts of the country yearly in normal times because of delinquent behaviour, even the most effective use of existing services will fail to meet their needs. Aware of this in the wartime period as we never have been before, National, State and local effort is being expended to strengthen services where they are weak, to expand them where their coverage is limited, and to put into operation methods for their more successful integration.

## The Administration of Public Education in the United States

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**T**HE administration of public education in the United States is unique. No other country maintains a corresponding system of decentralized school administrative units through which the public educational effort is directed. Space precludes a comprehensive treatment of this system, but some understanding of its functioning may be gained through the following discussion of its administrative organization, methods of finance, and the teaching personnel.

### Administrative Organization

The 'Bill of Rights' to the Federal Constitution contains two amendments which make education a function of the individual states. The Tenth Amendment reserves to the states or to the people the powers that are not delegated to the national government nor prohibited to the states. The First Amendment assures the secular character of schools by guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, and the right to assemble. Under these amendments, clauses have been written into the constitution of each state expressly providing for systems of public education.

### Local Administrative Organization

Each state has developed its own

system of education consisting of a series of geographic subdivisions known as school districts within which the educational programme is carried out under local direction. These districts are quasi-corporations created by the legislature. They may be dissolved at any time. There is very little chance of this happening unless the legislature is supported by strong popular opinion because the independent local school district is a deeply rooted tradition in American education.

School districts are usually separate from civil governments, except where fiscal support is provided by the municipal corporation.

School districts may be classified as state, county, town or township, district, or urban. Delaware is the only state which is administered as a single district with the exception of a few independent urban centres. County organization exists in twelve states, town or township in nine states, district in twenty-six states, and urban in all states.

The Biennial Survey of Education<sup>1</sup> reports that there were approximately 119,000 school dis-

tricts in 1938 under the control of nearly 400,000 school board members who had the responsibility for developing policy and administering the local educational programme. A large number of these districts are small and incapable of supporting a sound educational programme. Their reorganization constitutes a major educational problem that is receiving a great deal of attention to-day.

The district school board generally includes three to seven members who are usually elected at large without reference to political party affiliation. They represent the people in exercising the legal right to formulate purposes, develop policy, and appraise the local educational effort. The number who receive remuneration are in a minority.

The board of education has the right to purchase property, and construct buildings, levy taxes within limits prescribed by the legislature, purchase supplies, textbooks, and equipment, take the school census, employ personnel, keep official proceedings, make their own rules and regulations, and determine the educational programme beyond the minimum requirements of the state. The extent to which boards may exercise these

<sup>1</sup> *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38*, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1940, No. 2, Chapter 11, p. 4. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941.



owers, however, varies considerably from state to state.

This organization fits the concept that education shall be developed in keeping with local needs and interests, a condition which permits flexibility of programme and encourages experimentation.

School boards customarily delegate the executive responsibility to the superintendent of schools. Some retain control over finance, plant, supplies and the employment of personnel through the organization of special standing committees. Others employ a secretary or manager to handle business matters while the activities of the superintendent are restricted to the instructional field.

Current educational thought supports the unit form of organization wherein complete executive control is vested in the superintendent. He is then charged with the administration of plant, personnel, attendance, records, finance, public relations, supervision, instruction, and the periodic appraisal of the entire programme.

The superintendent of schools in a large city is assisted by several line and staff officers. Staff officers are usually research specialists without administrative authority, although both functions are frequently combined in the same official. Line officers handle the work of technical management, co-ordination and supervision. They vary in title and sphere of activity in different school systems.

Associate or division superintendents may be next in line to the superintendent. They administer specific areas of instruction such as elementary, secondary and vocational education. Authority flows from them to district superintendents and then to building principals and supervisors of special subjects. In this organizational arrangement, the superintendent serves as the general co-ordinator of the entire programme.

The superintendent of schools in a medium-sized community must undertake many technical responsibilities which the large city superintendent is able to delegate to his associates. The spread of these responsibilities increases as the size of the community diminishes. Even though the small city superintendent is confronted with a greater variety of detail, the fundamental areas and problems of administra-

tion are comparable to those found in large school systems.

### State Administrative Organization

The state administrative organization is similar in pattern to that of the local school district, with a superintendent of public instruction or commissioner of education and a state board or council of education. In nine states, the chief school officer combines the executive functions of the superintendent and the legislative functions of the state board of education.

State boards of education vary in their jurisdiction over elementary and secondary schools from that of an advisement body to that of a policy forming agency. They generally have the responsibility for making rules and regulations controlling the state system of schools, interpreting school law and developing policies consistent with it, making recommendations to the legislature, ruling on questions affecting the certification of professional personnel, preparing the state educational budget, and in some states, exercising supervision over state supported normal schools and teachers' colleges.

The state educational programme is administered by the superintendent of public instruction who is elected or appointed for an average of a four-year term of office. He may be completely independent of the state board of education, may co-ordinate with it in authority, or may be directly under its control in the administration of the programme.

He is the head of the state department of public instruction and has the responsibility for developing the details of the state programme. He is expected to provide educational leadership, stimulate educational progress, organize conferences and meetings, carry on research, and work for the reduction of educational inequalities within the state.

The state department of public instruction also formulates uniform and fiscal accounting procedures, requires specific information from local districts, approves school building plans, interprets educational needs to the legislature, directs the teacher tenure and retirement systems, issues teaching certificates, and exercises general control over institutions for juvenile delinquents and exceptional chil-

dren. In most states it has relatively little control over local instructional programmes.

There is an exception in the field of vocational education, which includes agriculture, trades and industries, home economics, and distributive occupations. By act of Congress the Federal Government contributes funds to a state which itself makes financial provision for vocational education and which has established a state board of vocational education. A state director of vocational education administers the programme, and at least one-half the local teacher's salary is paid out of the combined Federal-State funds. This contribution towards the salary permits the state director to pass upon the qualifications of instructional personnel, prescribe the programme of studies, establish physical standards, specify the instructional materials, and limit the size of classes. These regulations are then enforced by supervisors attached to the state office.

State control over education has been growing steadily during the last two decades, particularly in the fields of finance, certification, supplies, retirement, tenure, sabbatical leave and salaries. The movement has been concentrated more in the Southern states than in other parts of the country. In all probability, it will continue to grow.

Objection is made to this trend on grounds that centralized control violates the fundamental rights of local communities to determine educational programmes which are in keeping with their peculiar needs and interests; that concentration of authority leads to autocratic administration and indifference to the wishes of people in a democratic nation. Those who favour increased state control point to the glaring inequalities in educational opportunity among districts and the inability of many to support economically and educationally sound programmes of instruction. All agree that a better system of school finance is needed.

### Federal Administrative Organization

The educational activities of the Federal Government are conducted principally through the United States Office of Education, a division of the Federal Security



Agency. This agency is concerned with education, health and welfare problems on a national basis.

The United States Office of Education is directed by a commissioner of education who receives his position through presidential appointment for a four-year term of office. He is assisted by professional personnel selected through competitive civil service examinations, who hold office as long as they render efficient service.

For many years the United States Office of Education was concerned primarily with gathering and publishing statistical data pertaining to public education, disseminating information about administrative organization and instructional procedures, and promoting the cause of education.

It had no administrative control over elementary and secondary schools until, in 1933, it was assigned responsibility for administering federal funds earmarked for vocational education under the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Acts. Under this provision states accepting Federal funds must meet certain Federal requirements in vocational teacher training, state vocational education, the appointment of state directors of vocational education, and the operation of the programme through supervisors attached to state offices.

Several other activities are carried on by this office, which include research studies, conferences, adult education programmes, consultations with school officials, informational service, special publications, and pertinent projects in the fields of elementary, secondary, and higher education.

This work was supplemented during the depression years by the educational programmes of special agencies. The National Youth Administration provided financial assistance to needy students in secondary schools and colleges by means of paid work opportunities. The Civilian Conservation Corps took care of unemployed youth through extensive conservation projects with provision for continued schooling. The Works Progress Administration developed playgrounds, constructed school buildings, organized adult education classes, established nursery schools, engaged in correspondence study, taught illiterates, prepared foreigners for naturalization, and

encouraged leisure-time and avocational interests along with many other educational and cultural activities. Each of these agencies was administered independently of the United States Office of Education.

## Educational Finance

There are wide differences in the equality of educational opportunity among the several states as well as within the respective states of the nation. This condition grows out of the variations in available wealth from which revenues may be obtained for the support of schools. The nature of this problem is reflected in the statistical data pertaining to state systems of education.

The Biennial Survey of Education<sup>1</sup> reports that there were 30,000,000 pupils attending full-time public and private day schools in 1939-1940. Of this number, 18,934,382 were enrolled in public elementary schools, 6,635,337 in public secondary schools, and 796,531 in public colleges and universities, making a total of 26,366,250. The remainder were in private and secondary schools, private colleges and universities, private nursing schools, and federally controlled schools for Indians.

The most important source of revenue for the support of this vast educational programme came from taxes levied in local school districts upon real property in 33 of 48 states. The county district was the most important source in three states, while the state government contributed the largest amount of money for financing schools in 12 states.

The percentage distribution of support shows that 61.3 per cent. of the revenue came from local school districts, 6.7 per cent. from county districts, 30.3 per cent. from state governments, and 1.7 per cent. from the Federal Government. The local school district is obviously the most important source of financial support for education in the United States.

Since the burden of taxation falls upon real property in local school districts where variations in taxable wealth exist, the product is a diversified series of school systems differing widely in the quality of plant, programme and personnel.

<sup>1</sup> *Statistical Summary of Education, 1939-1940*, Vol. II, Chap. 1, p. 5, U.S. Office of Education. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.

The greatest lack of educational opportunity is found among the rural districts of the country. This situation is depicted in the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education<sup>2</sup> which says: 'The continued maintenance of large numbers of one-teacher rural schools with extremely small enrolments is responsible in many areas for both a low level of educational service and a high tax bill for the service that is provided. A study completed in 1934 recorded nearly 44,000 schools in which the attendance per school ranged from 3 to 17 pupils, and average costs per pupil ranged from \$200 to \$80, although the level of service provided was markedly inferior to that found in many town and village schools operating at cost levels around \$40 per pupil.' There were 113,600 of these one-room rural schools operating in 1939-1940.

There are many types of variations in public education which reveal differences in the equality of opportunity. Seven Southern states maintain 11 grades of school, while 39 states have a 12-grade school system. The length of the school year in 1938-1940 ranged from 187.6 days in Maryland to 145.7 days in Mississippi. The range in 17 states having separate schools for Negroes was from an estimated 187 days in Missouri to 124.1 days in Mississippi. The length of the school term for all pupils in average daily attendance was 175 days.

Current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance, including interest, for the same period, ranged from \$169.90 in New York to \$31.23 in Mississippi with the national average at \$94.03, exclusive of evening, summer, part-time and continuation schools. The range in the value of school property per pupil was from \$566 in Delaware to less than \$100 in Tennessee, a difference of more than five to one.

From another approach, the total expenditure for public elementary and secondary education in the United States in 1939-1940 amounted to \$2,344,048,927. This represents an expenditure of \$17.77 per capita of population, \$105.74 per pupil in average daily attendance, or an average daily cost of 60.4 cents per pupil.

<sup>2</sup> *Advisory Committee on Education, The Report of the Committee*, pp. 9-10. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938.



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Wide variations likewise exist in the average annual salaries paid to principals, supervisors and teachers. In 1939-1940, New York paid the highest average salary of \$2,604 to this group and Mississippi the lowest average salary of \$559. The average salary for the entire country was \$1,441. The averages for 33 states were below the national figure, and fifteen of these states paid less than \$1,000.

In a recent study by the Research Division of the National Education Association<sup>1</sup> covering salaries in 1942-1943 paid in cities classified according to size of populations, it was reported that elementary school teachers in cities over 100,000 in population received a median salary of \$2,422; junior high school teachers, \$2,563; and high school teachers, \$2,887. Elementary school teachers in cities between 30,000 and 100,000 in population received \$1,748; junior high school teachers, \$1,979; and high school teachers, \$2,206. Elementary school teachers

in cities between 10,000 and 30,000 in population received \$1,530; junior high school teachers, \$1,726; and high school teachers, \$1,950. In the next class of cities with populations between 5,000 and 10,000, the median salary for elementary school teachers was \$1,379; junior high school teachers, \$1,535; and high school teachers, \$1,729.

The latest available estimates drawn up by the National Education Association for 1943-1944 indicate that out of a total of 882,450 public elementary and secondary school teachers approximately 30 in every 100 will receive an annual salary of less than \$1,200, and that five in every 100 will receive a salary of less than \$600 for the school year.

These estimates include the low salaries paid to Negro teachers in the 17 states which maintain segregated systems of education. The average salaries of Negro teachers during 1939-1940 in five of thirteen states was less than one-half the average salaries paid to white teachers. In point, the white teachers of Alabama received an

average salary of \$878; the Negro teacher received \$412. In Georgia the salaries were \$924 and \$404 respectively, while in Mississippi white teachers averaged \$776 as against \$232 for Negro teachers. However, in the District of Columbia, where salaries are paid from federal funds, white teachers and Negro teachers received the same amount, namely, an average of \$2,350. There is probably some economic justification for the low salaries paid in the Southern states, but the discrimination against Negroes is more a matter of attitude than of necessity.

The need for reducing variations in educational opportunities among states as well as within states accounts for the growing conviction that the state and federal governments must assume greater responsibility for financing public education. But the majority who hold this opinion are unwilling to permit any departure from the basic principle of decentralized control.

This is evident in the provisions of the Thomas Bill, which seeks \$300,000,000 in federal funds for

<sup>1</sup> *Salaries of City School Employees, 1942-1943.* National Education Association Research Bulletin, Vol. XXI., No. 1, February, 1943. Washington, D.C.: The Association, pp. 6-9.



increasing teachers' salaries, lengthening the school term, and reducing overcrowded classes by employing more teachers. It contains specific clauses prohibiting federal control over the distribution and use of the funds. This bill was strongly supported until a nondiscrimination amendment was attached. This amendment provided that no discrimination should be permitted in the administration of 'the benefits and appropriations made under the respective provisions of this act or in the state funds supplemented thereby on account of race, creed, or colour'. It was adopted in spite of the opposition to it by the Negroes themselves. The supporters of the original bill referred it back to the Senate Committee on Education and Labour, where it is at the present time.

Equalization of educational opportunity does not necessarily mean that every pupil in a public school should receive similar instruction according to state or federal programmes of studies. It means that every pupil should have an equal chance to receive an education that is in keeping with his capacity to learn. This interpretation calls for a flexible and varied programme fitted to the needs of particular children in given localities. It should also extend into the field of higher education through increased scholarship aid to competent graduates of secondary schools. This kind of equalization represents an end towards which educational effort is directed in America.

### The Teaching Personnel

The status of the teaching personnel in public schools shows variations comparable to those found in the administrative organization and the financing of state and local systems of education. Attention will be given here to a few of the important factors which affect the status of teachers in this country.

The employment of many teachers has been protected through the enactment of tenure laws. Six states have tenure laws which apply to all school districts. Nine states have tenure laws which apply only to large school districts. In one state the acceptance of the tenure law is optional with the local board of education.

Where tenure has not been

written into law, teachers are employed on either a daily, weekly, monthly, annual, or continuing basis. Continuing tenure means that the teacher is employed just as long as efficient service is rendered. This is given after a probationary period of two to three years, during which time the teacher demonstrates the competency essential to continuing tenure. In this respect, continuing tenure is like permanent tenure, except for the fact that it has not been given legal sanction.

In three states where permanent tenure has been guaranteed by statutes, reduction in salary or demotion in rank is the equivalent to dismissal. Neither can be effected without going through definite procedures which place the burden of proof upon the recommending officer. Under the circumstances the position of the recommending is so difficult that relatively few cases of dismissal, demotion and reduction in salary are undertaken.

Retirement and annuity systems have been provided in more than half of the states. They are financed through direct contributions of individual teachers, by joint state and individual contributions, or exclusively by the state. The amounts received subsequent to retirement vary according to states as well as legal provisions concerning years of service, age of retirement, and the size of contributions.

Legal provision has also been made for sabbatical leaves of absence in California and Pennsylvania. In California, local boards of education are permitted to grant leaves of absence for study or travel. The Pennsylvania law requires that leaves of absence must be granted to teachers after ten years of service. These leaves may be used for study, travel, or restoration of health. The teacher who is on leave receives the difference between the regular salary and the amount paid to the substitute, providing it is not in excess of \$1,600 for the school year.

According to a Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, 1940-1941,<sup>1</sup> 71 per cent. of the 1,801 cities studied granted

leaves of absence for purposes of professional improvement, and 21 per cent. provided some salary during the leave. Other cities recognize the value of summer school attendance, part-time attendance at colleges and universities, and travel through additional salary increments.

The National Education Association with its affiliated state and local branches has been helpful in bringing about improvement in the status of teachers. This organization has a membership of about 222,000 professional workers, including administrators, supervisors and teachers. Its services are conducted through departments, committees and special commissions. Unfortunately, it is controlled to a large extent by administrators whose interests are sometimes at variance with those of classroom teachers.

Dissatisfaction with the conservative policy followed by the National Education Association accounts, in part, for the growth in Membership of The American Federation of Teachers, a labour union associated with the American Federation of Labour. This organization has grown very rapidly, especially in the past five years. It now has a membership of approximately 35,000 teachers. Its rise has been principally in large cities rather than medium or small communities where strong prejudice exists against the affiliations of teachers with labour unions.

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<sup>1</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures: Employment Conditions in Service.* Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XX, No. 3, May 1942. Washington, D.C. : The Association, pp. 92-95.



# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

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Edited by David Jordan,  
20 Dorchester Avenue, Palmers Green, N.13

It is difficult to estimate the effect upon human personality of the physical environment in which our life is spent. Those who have known the shabby makeshifts made necessary by poverty—the inadequate kitchen, the overcrowded kitchen, the pitifully faded bedroom, and the portable tin bath—which even in the twentieth century are the normal accompaniments of domestic life for a large part of our population, will not doubt its importance. But it is a side of life upon which we prefer not to dwell. Occasionally a publication like 'Our Towns' jolts our complacency and disturbs the serenity of our social conscience, but for the greater part of our time we prefer to think of our towns' in terms of shopping centres, and bus routes rather than side streets and back alleys. Moreover, when we have risen in the social scale we slough off the memories of our limited past and prefer not to mar our enjoyment of a more spacious life by the recollection that there are many who cannot share it. We pay lip service to the brotherhood of man, to equality of opportunity, or any other of the hundred and one catchwords by which we cloak our failure to use our technological productive powers in the common interest, and having paid our tribute of words we rest content; we lack, not goodwill, but imagination, and for lack of it the people perish.

There are probably few things which exemplify our collective lack of imagination as clearly as the school buildings in which the majority of our children spend their time. The dismal and all too permanent barrack buildings of the average industrial town carry the cleanliness and squalor of the back streets into the educational life of our children. The best that can be said for the elementary schools is that they are not insanitary, but if we assume that their major function is to condition the children of the working classes to the acceptance

of social inadequacies they are admirably equipped for the purpose. Overcrowding is a common feature; cleanliness is discouraged by inadequate wash basins, a lack of hot water, and the bedraggled communal towel; the paintwork is invariably dull, and not infrequently dirty, and the tiled classroom surround, which might have introduced an element of brightness without necessitating expensive renewal, is often the dullest of browns. There is little need to add to the mournful catalogue; these things are all too familiar to those who experience them daily; the pity of it is that for both the community and the teaching profession familiarity has tended to breed tolerance rather than contempt. Just as the average slum dweller becomes conditioned by squalor to the acceptance of squalor, so both parents and teachers have come to accept the shabby dreariness of the average elementary school—experience has bred quiescence rather than revolt.

The trend of the debate on the Education Bill suggests that the State is prepared to abolish the over-large class and to extend the period of school life for all children; the shortage of teachers will make necessary the abolition of the subsistence wage now paid to those at the lower reaches of the Burnham Scale; but it is by no means certain that the rebuilding of aesthetically inadequate schools will be undertaken unless the urgency of the problem is generally realized and strong pressure brought to bear on the appropriate authorities.

In some areas the issue has already been decided by enemy action. Authorities faced with buildings substantially demolished can hardly do other than complete the work of demolition and plan afresh in the light of modern conceptions of educational needs. But even here local shortsightedness and public parsimony may lead to a refusal to take full advantage of the unique opportunity presented by the misfortunes of war. In most cases, considerably enlarged sites will be needed if

educational slumdom is not to be perpetuated and if smaller classes and space for free activity are to be made possible. Even as a base for the old three-storey barrack buildings (built with a permanency which was bound to imprison succeeding generations in the shell of an outworn conception) the original site was usually too limited in extent to provide a reasonable 'playground'. In many areas outbuildings and extensions have made considerable inroads upon the available space and have combined to produce that ill-assorted clutch of architectural ugliness known as the 'elementary' school—fit vehicle for the limited instructional notions of the nineteenth century, but ill adapted for the educational conceptions of to-day. Even where buildings have been demolished, therefore, an increase in site area will be necessary if we are to implement satisfactorily the ideas contained in the Education Bill.

What is likely to happen, moreover, in areas where no involuntary demolition has been suffered? Are we, as a community, prepared to rebuild schools as we should rebuild factories which were obviously out of date? Under the New Bill reconstruction plans are to be drawn up by local administrators who have to think in terms of local rates no less than educational needs, and the plans have to be submitted to the Minister for Education who, in other times and under another title, has proved strangely subservient to the voice of the Treasury. If our brave professions are to stand any chance of becoming established fact we shall have to arouse the active interest of parents in the area plans so that support for the necessary expenditure will be forthcoming.

We suggest that every E.N.E.F. branch should seek information as to proposed developments in its own area. There is probably no other body representing a similar cross section of the community with education as its prime concern, and therefore as favourably placed for initiating



local action in this respect. In the initial stages of the enquiry a specially chosen sub-committee could survey existing facilities, estimate future requirements, and seek information as to the adequacy of the area plans to be submitted to the Minister of Education.

In many areas educational re-planning is largely in the hands of a senior administrative officer with whom fruitful contact could be made. There is, we believe, a grave danger that new educational plans will be developed with excellent administrative intentions but with inadequate consultation and co-operation with the people immediately concerned in the practise of education in the schools. If we are to plan wisely and democratically we must pool our resources in knowledge and experience and provide recognised channels by which constructive suggestions can be passed on to the administrative officers upon whom the chief burden must fall.

In any replanning we should be concerned with the principles which underlie reorganization, for example, whether multilateral schools shall be introduced at the post-primary level, at what age any form of specialization should be introduced, the status and amenities of the Junior School, and so on. We must also scrutinize specific projects, such as the plans for a particular building, to ensure that it is designed to promote certain educational purposes, for in architecture no less than in administration 'structure and purpose' must be seen in relation to one another.

With the certainty of many new buildings, being required both to replace existing buildings and to meet demands for new types of schools we have an opportunity to raise the general standard of design. This opportunity, however, cannot properly be exploited without serious research, which should be undertaken at once. So closely should the form of the buildings be related to the life of the school that the only satisfactory basis for design is an understanding of the character of the particular type of school and of the activities to be carried out in each part of the building. A great number of buildings used as schools, although sound enough structures in themselves, are quite unsuitable in character, and, even if we set a

very modest standard, many schools are inadequate in accommodation and equipment.

We follow this editorial comment by a short specially written article by Aline Moore, who discusses some of the more detailed aspects of school planning. The Editor will be pleased to receive suggestions of suitable topics for subsequent bulletins, and offers of articles of a similar length.

## The Design of School Buildings

Aline Moore

THE psychological effect of surroundings has been recognised, with a resulting improvement in the general aspect of the newer schools. Of course the standard set by the older schools, which also means a large proportion of the schools still in use, was easy to improve on. It is no exaggeration to describe many school interiors as gloomy, unwelcoming, and even eerie. Windows high in the wall, dark and cold-looking tiles, treacle-brown varnish and ill-lit corridors create an atmosphere which is hardly inviting. In contrast, the tendency in new schools is towards larger windows with lower sills and light painted wall surfaces in the rooms and corridors. This certainly does produce a sense of space, and is in every way preferable to the traditional gloom. But the progress made in this direction has been haphazard and results are not always as successful as they could be if the whole question of school decoration were investigated carefully and the knowledge gained applied to future work. For example, the too popular butter-colour used on the upper parts of walls reduces the apparent size of rooms and causes disturbing hot reflections in the corners. Great improvements could be made in many older schools by schemes of complete redecoration.

In the past school plans have, generally speaking, been compact, larger schools being built either round courtyards or in blocks of several stories. The general movement is now towards more open plans. Courtyards reflect noise, there is overshadowing and a closed-in effect, while it is impossible to have all the windows facing in the correct direction. The compact

block plan with a central corridor is still very commonly used. This arrangement has advantages in that most of the classrooms can be made to face in the right direction, and its compactness makes it suitable for restricted or sloping sites. This type of plan is, however, too rigid to allow of the best placing of all the rooms and makes for difficult circulation with cross-traffic in the corridors and congestion on staircases. Future schools should not be hampered by unsuitable sites so that all closed types of plan could give way to a more elastic arrangement of the units that go to make up the school.

### Needs and Amenities

What accommodation should be provided? In addition to suitable rooms for all teaching subjects and really adequate playing fields, all schools should have an assembly hall, dining room, properly equipped medical room, suitable accommodation for staff, cloak rooms, drying rooms, indoor sanitation and wash-basins with hot and cold water. Many hundreds of buildings used as schools for children of secondary school age lack all these apparently indispensable amenities. Every school should also have an exhibition space for travelling exhibitions and the display of work done in the school, and room for a school 'museum' or objects of local interest. With the dining room as a permanent feature there is a real need for recreational club rooms for use during the dinner break and for voluntary activities.

The assembly hall should not have classrooms leading directly from it. It should not be entirely surrounded by corridors but should have crash-doors leading directly into the open; it is then possible to have low-silled windows in one wall. End entrances are preferable to side entrances.

It is generally accepted that all schools will have to be equipped with a dining room of some kind. In large schools this will have to be planned with its kitchen as a separate wing, and if school dinners are to become an important part of the children's social education really adequate, efficient and attractive accommodation must be provided even in the smallest schools. In many schools the 'dining room' serves some other purpose during



the rest of the day. In some cases, even in large senior schools, the assembly hall is also dining room and gymnasium; in some, where there is no assembly hall, a kitchen has been added, and a classroom serves as dining room; sometimes the domestic science room serves as kitchen and perhaps as dining room too. All makeshift arrangements must go, and where any room has to serve a double purpose it must be planned so as to serve both purposes adequately. School meals should not be cooked in the domestic science room.

The planning of classrooms has been considered far more extensively from the point of view of their relation to one another than from the point of view of their individual function. The arrangement of classrooms round courtyards is, or should be, obsolete, economy in construction and of site being the only recommendation. The common arrangement of classrooms in series along one side of a corridor does not make great demands on the site, but in a school of some size there is a monotonous sameness of approach to the rooms which tend themselves to fall into one mould, and with windows close together there is some sound-leakage from room to room. Outdoor teaching spaces are impossible for similar reasons. In a smaller school classrooms can be arranged in the same way but with paved spaces between the rooms. This increases the length of corridor needed and is more expensive in construction but gives better sound separation and provides sheltered outdoor teaching spaces. Classrooms placed diagonally to the corridor have their windows separated by angles in the outside wall, and thus escape of sound between rooms is prevented. This arrangement also makes space available for lockers in bays made between the rooms on the corridor side. Many experiments have been made in different classroom arrangements; most are too expensive to come into common use while economy is such an important factor in the choosing of plans. All these types seem to have their own particular advantages, and if expense were not generally a deciding factor we should have a much wider variety available to meet requirements of different types of schools and sites.

### Planning Specialist Rooms

The aspect of school planning in which improvement is most needed is that of the design of individual teaching rooms. The whole question of classroom design and equipment needs to be investigated so that advances in teaching methods shall not be hampered by unsuitable accommodation. In general, furniture will probably tend to become lighter and less rigid in arrangement, wall space will be used to greater advantage, and in the interests of hygiene loose heavy furniture such as cupboards and bookcases will give place to fixtures. One of the most important developments in teaching approach in the last twenty years has been the increasing use of visual aids. The days of pinrails should have gone. A large display surface designed as part of the wall should be available in every room and in most rooms, a display bench for models, with cupboard accommodation below, should be fitted along one wall. The number of 'subjects' which are recognized as activities requiring specially planned and equipped rooms is gradually increasing. These include the teaching of physical training, science, domestic science, handicraft, art and geography. Even in the design of these rooms considerable improvements could be made as a result of closer co-operation between teachers and architects. For example, the fitting of a tiled recess for clay bins and the use of a light-absorbent surface on the wall opposite the windows would improve most art rooms. Geography rooms need a large amount of display space; pivoted screens for maps; benches for contour models; a paved outside space on which to establish a meteorological station; sinks; and tables, preferably with washable composition tops. The room intended for mathematics teaching is sometimes equipped with a roller blackboard which is in part squared for graph work; this is the extent of normal special equipment. The mathematics room might well be treated as a craft room, with plenty of space for storage of teaching models and display space for class models and for diagrams. It should have outside communication, and tables would probably be more suitable than desks. History rooms should also be equipped for practical

work, with plenty of display space for charts, models and pictures. For modern language rooms the bench display will probably not be required, but wall display is important, and there should be shelf space for a small library and storage for wall-pictures. The furniture should consist of stacking tables and chairs so that the floor could be cleared for dramatic work, and a gramophone is indispensable. In most schools more than one room will be needed for the teaching of English. One of these should have stacking furniture and should be fitted with a model stage, and facilities for a library wall display and storage for properties. Concertina windows which make it possible to have one side completely open would be suitable for some rooms and direct outside communication would be useful in most. There is a general need for a more generous allowance of floor-space per child.

### General Considerations

Corridors should have windows with sills below shoulder-level, light walls without any projections (radiators recessed), widenings at all meeting points and at head and foot of stairs. Toplighting only is not suitable for corridors. The lower part of the wall surface should be continuous with the floor. It is essential that corridors and rooms should be easy to keep clean. Stairs must have plenty of light from the sides rather than from the top and bottom. Ramps do not seem to be as safe as stairs unless they are very long. Coat-room accommodation can be concentrated or dispersed with groups of rooms or even attached to separate classrooms. There are many advantages to a system of dispersal, for a smaller unit lessens the necessity for 'dragooning' the children and make freer and more informal arrangements feasible. Many further suggestions could be made, but the main consideration is that the type of building should foster free individual relationships rather than minister to purely institutional needs.

### Conference News

*Bangor—August 3rd-10th* The Summer Conference will be held at Bangor from August 3rd-10th on



'The Teacher in School and Society' (with particular reference to the McNair Report). This will be a study discussion conference similar to the Wem Conference, which considered the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction. Miss Fletcher will act as Conference Chairman, and the Group Chairmen will include Mr. K. Barnes, Mr. L. Bradley, Miss M. Clarke, Mr. David Jordan, and Mr. E. J. Wynburne.

Members should secure their own copies of the McNair Report before coming to Bangor.

The Conference Fee (which includes a non-returnable booking fee of 5/-) will be :

	Branch	
	Full Members and	Members Non-members
Cubicle (large) £4	£4/5/-	
Double Room £4/5/-	£4/10/-	
Single Room £4/10/-	£4/15/-	

*York Branch—Week-end Conference, September 23rd and 24th* The York Branch is holding a Week-end conference on September 23rd and 24th at The Mount School Hall. Sessions are from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m. each day. On the first day Mr. E. H. Savage will speak on 'Multilateral Schools' and Miss Wise on 'The Modern School'. On Sunday Mr. K. Richmond will speak on 'The Junior School' and Mrs. H. Clark on 'Means of Testing for transition from junior to secondary school'. The conference fee is 1/-. Arrangements are being made by Miss Keightley, 2 St. Aubyn's Place, The Mount, York.

*Joint Conference—London, September 10th-14th* Following up the last two conferences on education in other countries the Joint Conference Committee has arranged a non-residential conference on Problems of English Education, to be held at King's College, Strand, from September 10th to 14th. The main headings for lecture and discussion will be 'Social Problems of Modern Britain'; 'The Influence of the Administrative Structure'; and 'Aims and Influences of Religious Institutions'. The Conference Fee (which should be sent with all bookings) is £1 1s. 0d., and bookings by E.N.E.F. members should be sent to Mrs. H. Clark as soon as possible.

*Norwich* We regret that it has not been possible to continue with

the arrangements for the Norwich Conference in August.

### Branch Official's Meetings

*York* In connection with the York conference there will be a Branch Officials' (Chairmen, Secretaries, Treasurers and Committee members) Meeting on Sunday morning, September 24th. Details will be available later. The York branch is very kindly offering hospitality to a limited number of delegates from other branches, so that they may be able to attend the conference on both days.

*London* It is proposed that a Branch Officials' Meeting should be held on Saturday, October 7th. Details will be announced later.

### Executive Notes

A Meeting of the Executive was held on April 22nd, when it was gratifying to find that representatives from five local branches were present. This is the best branch representation we have had to date. The main items dealt with were the Secretary's Report, the Bulletin, the proposed enquiry into Experimental Schools, Summer Conferences and the Annual General Meeting.

The Secretary reported that the number of full members was about 900, of whom over 100 had joined between January and March 1944. The Easter Conference had proved very successful, 180 members being present.

*The Bulletin.* It was agreed that an elected editor should be responsible for editing this, and that an editorial board should be set up, the members being Mr. David Jordan (Chairman), Miss Fletcher, Mrs. King, Mrs. Volkov, together with Mr. Woodhead and Mrs. Clark (*ex officio*).

The suggested *Enquiry into Experimental Schools* was referred to a sub-committee which was to discuss the scope of the enquiry and report its findings to the Executive; the Executive was then to put the matter to the branches and members.

A sub-committee was also set up to go into the matter of *summer conferences*, the Executive recommending the adoption of either 'The Training of Teachers' or 'The Curriculum' as the subject matter.

It was decided that the *Annual*

*General Meeting* should not be held in August, but in London in connection with a Christmas Conference, when it was expected more members would be able to attend.

### INTERNATIONAL (N.E.F.) NEWS

#### The Problem of an International Auxiliary Language

In June International Headquarters, N.E.F., arranged in London a meeting at which the chief proposals for an international auxiliary language were discussed. The speakers were: Dr. Frederick Bodmer, the well-known author of *The Loom of Language*, Professor Lancelot Hogben, author of books on Basic English, and Mr. Montague C. Butler, editor of *The British Esperantist*. Mr. J. A. Lauwers, Deputy-Chairman N.E.F., and Mr. Vivian Ogilvie chaired the meeting.

Science and technics have conquered space, on land, sea and in the air; but traffic along the world's highways remains obstructed by a multitude of linguistic barriers. Europe alone is embarrassed by some forty mutually unintelligible tongues, not counting those which are spoken by less than a million people. A world bound together by peaceful co-operation must eventually evolve a universal Auxiliary for its supranational needs, such as travel, trade, congresses, broadcasting, and the dissemination of technical and scientific research.

At the moment two distinct possibilities offer themselves. We may stake our hopes on world-wide acceptance of Anglo-American, either in its current or in a simplified (*Basic*) form. Or we may seek a remedy for the curse of confusion in a constructed medium, freed from the wasteful and irrational features that adhere to all ethnic languages.

It may have seemed to many that the British Prime Minister's public support of Basic English had settled the problem, but it is not at all certain that Basic English would be acceptable to all countries. It has obvious political disadvantages from which an artificial language would be free. As the problem is an important one the N.E.F. will issue a report in pamphlet form in the near future.

#### New York's Curriculum Experiments

New York City's six-year, large scale experimentation with an activity curriculum is over. In 1940-41, on the invitation of the Superintendent of Schools the State Department of Education made a survey of the Activity Curriculum in New York City, and as an outcome recommended its gradual extension to all the ele-



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elementary schools of the city. This was one of the largest curriculum experiments ever conducted. At no time were less than 75,000 children involved. The new programme was adopted in February 1942. It seems safe to state that nearly all teachers and supervisors in the elementary schools have now accepted the philosophy of the new curriculum. (An article giving further details appears in *Progressive Education* (April 1944), 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City—a copy can be borrowed from N.E.F. Headquarters.)

*Clare Soper*

## Book Reviews

### Education and Dr. Leavis

We know Dr. Leavis as pre-eminently an upholder of values in a society that all too often can jeopardize or discard them. And, perhaps subsidiary only to that, we know him as a fine critic of poetry whose sense of humane tradition has always been directed towards the examination of contemporary culture—in the knowledge that only so can that sense be deemed living and creative. In his new book, *Education and the University: a sketch for an 'English School'* (Chatto and Windus, 6/-), he is concerned with a plan which, however revolutionary it

may of necessity seem to its proposed sponsors, is stimulating to examine and never from an organizational point of view impracticable.

Dr. Leavis looks upon a civilization of ever-increasing technical complexity given over to the production of sterile and mechanical specialists: sterile because rootless and mechanical because lacking the intelligence of co-ordination. It is a system which, as we may see so tragically to-day, will work with marvellous speed and efficiency towards the extinction of life but can contribute little or nothing to the nurture of the human spirit.

Clearly specialists are essential to our civilization, but none can doubt that, for our preservation's sake, each must in future be a specialist always conscious that his roots are in the living past, always innervated with a sense of humanistic, cultural discrimination, and always aware of his fundamental contact, on these grounds, with other specialists.

Where may we seek to establish such 'a relating of specialisms in a non-specialist centre of consciousness'? Where should be the permanent focus-point of humane consciousness; where in our midst should stand, as it were, the Temple of Value? The answer, Dr. Leavis makes clear, must be that it is in the University, and, peculiarly, the *ancient* University.

Seeking the study that most ideally

lends itself to the discipline so conceived, he selects literature and takes as a working example the English Tripos at Cambridge. In this, emancipated as it is from Anglo-Saxon and containing at least the basis of literary-critical discipline, he sees the best hope for his envisaged 'English School'. He rejects both Classical Greats and Philosophy as unsuitable for his purpose since he sees no evidence that they empower that balanced and authoritative judgment upon contemporary culture which is essential to the whole humanist view of life. Nor does he see it to-day as emanating from any doctrinal study, since 'this is the age not of Dante or of Herbert, but of T. S. Eliot.' (We have not the space to quote on these points, but on the last particularly readers will find Dr. Leavis just. And we may in passing suggest it as a necessary personal faith of the English teacher to all age-groups that *aesthetic* experience is of an immediately *ethical* value, later to be disciplined and strengthened by direct ethical teaching but scarcely to be ousted by it. Certainly in post-war years *ersatz* teachers empowered to dose liberally with theological physic will ennoble no child's personality).

This we may describe as the introductory section of Dr. Leavis's book. It involves a most heartening discussion of what must be 'the idea' of a



university, and it is careful in its statement of humanism as 'the pre-occupation with cultural values as human and separable from any particular religious frame or basis, the offer at a cultural regeneration that is not to proceed by way of a religious revival.' Here Dr. Leavis follows Mr. Eliot in opposing the humanism of Mr. Irving Babbitt: '. . . in his interest in the messages of individuals—messages conveyed in books—he has tended merely to neglect the conditions. The great men whom he holds up for our admiration and example are torn from their contexts of race, place and time. And in consequence, Mr. Babbitt seems to me to tear himself from his own context' (Eliot at the Malvern Conference, 1941). Yet it may be well to stress that any work of literary art is the result of a marriage (however awkward) between a self and an environment, and a tendency—such as Dr. Leavis sometimes exhibits—to stress the latter at the expense of the former can be more fatal to the type of education he envisages than Mr. Babbitt's own tendency can. Mr. V. S. Pritchett may be cited amongst contemporary critics as an example of this.

Dr. Leavis anticipates the question, 'Why *English School*?' "English," because it is a humane school, and the non-specialist intelligence in which the various studies are to find their centre is to be one that gets its own special training in literature. Its special—but not specialist—discipline is to be the literary critical, a discipline of sensibility, judgment and thought which, of its essential nature, is concerned with training a non-specialist intelligence.'

It is impossible here to summarize the detailed proposals for a graduate course in this 'school', but we may mention that its foundation is a study—compulsory for all students—of the seventeenth century, since this is a 'key passage in the history of civilization', and a study of it is essentially a study of the modern world. It is at one end medieval, still the world of Dante; at the other an embryo from which our world to-day has rapidly and directly developed.

But as one studies Dr. Leavis's scheme of reading and examination for his students one is inevitably set wondering as to their ability to receive all that he knows himself to be offering them—and receive it in the correct manner. The demands to be made on them are astonishing; the *initial* requirements often quite breath-taking. They will be young men who are just released from the cloisters of school, and they will embark on these studies with all the schoolboy's lack of experience of life. For them he intends neither mere academic knowledge nor even—which is less

readily understood—a purely passive appreciation, but the training of sensibility and the formation of a strong and active sense of discrimination in life no less than in literature. For his assumption is that later experience acting upon the personality formed so richly by these studies at the university will call forth responsible and intelligent behaviour. But this is an assumption open at least to query, if it is not in fact the reverse of the truth: it is, indeed, questioned fundamentally by that 'ignored educational principle' of which Sir Richard Livingstone has recently written with some stress. We shall, however, do no more than pose the question for the thoughtful reader.

For the rest the book awaits the reader, and no educationist can afford to neglect it. If we speak of it as a work of mature wisdom and urgent importance, it is because we can do no less, however mindful we may be of its faults. Dr. Leavis at no times writes with grace and occasionally he descends to turgidity, while his quotations from Mr. Eliot illumine the quality of his own prose all too brightly. His fine critical intelligence in poetry does not appear to be matched by his knowledge of prose, nor does prose literature obtain more than a scrappy mention in his scheme of studies. Again, the book is unnecessarily ill-arranged, and a certain humourlessness in Dr. Leavis's style leads one to believe that the arrangement is designed more to illustrate the author's eminence in his field than to assist the reader. Two lengthy appendices (included, we suspect, to make the thesis of a more 'bookable' length) consist of reviews written some years ago of Eliot's *The Dry*



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*Salvages* and Ezra Pound's pamphlet, *How to Read*. The points made in these could have been made with more pertinence and more brevity in the main body of the book.

It is to be hoped that when a new edition is called for the publishers may allow Dr. Leavis to rearrange the book, for certainly nothing should stand in the way of its wide dissemination.

Peter Gamble

**Prayer and the Service of God.**  
Daniel T. Jenkins. (Faber and Faber. 5/-).

This is a timely book that reminds us once again of the truth that when the world collapses the final cause of disintegration lies in men's hearts and minds and not in social systems. 'Being quite content with a detective story before the fire, or pottering about the garden in old clothes may seem a natural and innocent enough state of mind. But when a whole community starts to spend its non-working hours thus, the seeds of trouble are sown.' Here is the basic disorder against which the author sets the need for personal integration through communion with the eternal God. In reading we experience in ourselves glimpses of intuitive understanding of a high and difficult matter whose complexities are laid before us with insight and frankness.

We are not asked to believe that prayer is good in itself. 'The whole history of the race testifies to the ambiguity of prayer. It can be a highly dangerous thing, the most subtle and effective means of hiding man from the face of God.' Prayer grows out of justifying faith, which is



act by which we move out from self-centred existence and join our humanity to Christ's true humanity, an act which involves the whole man at the very core of his living, at the place where he is a responsible person'. With this is a 'Great Disturbance', not a demand and acceptance of what we do not understand. Thus prayer is presented to us not as a means of confirming our prejudices because we pray for what we want, nor as a means to our personal salvation, but as a necessary activity for those who are humble enough to know that they cannot manage their lives or plan society without God. Prayer is born of this humility and from it all else follows.

The first half of this small book is extremely satisfying in its sensitive grasp of the social and mystical implications of the subject. Nevertheless, insistence on certain theological conceptions is bound to reduce the validity of the author's theme for the less orthodox. We can follow him in his insistence that true prayer 'is the prayer of the Holy Spirit in us', but it is not a long jump from the simplicities of the Lord's Prayer to suggest that it is 'only through Christ's intercession as our High Priest that our prayer is able to prevail with God'. True, such a phrase can be acceptably interpreted, but it suggests too great a departure from the simplicity which devout Christians have a right to associate with prayer. Similarly, it is difficult to interpret in human terms and for the world we live in the author's consistent use of the biblical phraseology of the 'second coming' and to see its relevance to a crying human and present need. This ancient anthropomorphic terminology, obscuring truth in metaphor, is just where interpretation is most needed, but at this point we are left wondering what the author really means. This obscurity may be lack of understanding on the reader's part, or possibly an inability to accept the theological premise on which the argument rests, but in any case it need not deter us from further study of a profoundly interesting and helpful treatment of the most intimate and basic of personal problems. As we read, prayer is relieved of all its crudities, and under the author's powerful explanation and argument we are forced to recognize the supreme importance of one of the most neglected and misunderstood activities of mankind.

E. B. Castle

**Understanding the Young Child.** W. E. Blatz. (University of London Press. 6/-).

In a footnote to one of his chapters Dr. Blatz says that his explanation

of the mechanisms of child development differs radically from that of other psychologists, and he will therefore hardly expect complete acceptance of his point of view. He gives a relatively unimportant place to the emotional life of the child, and claims that in his description of the scheme of human development he takes into account the demonstrable facts of human behaviour without needing to use the unconscious as an explanatory principle. It is none the less difficult to understand how learning can be affected, as Dr. Blatz states, by the inaccuracies, mistakes, disappointments and satisfactions in the past experience of the individual, if the unconscious is left entirely out of account.

The book discusses various aspects of the behaviour of young children, and suggests methods for helping forward their development. Considerable emphasis is given to the importance of learning, and motivation and persistence are discussed in relation to it. Social development is briefly described, as is the development of responsibility in children. The discussion of emotional development is limited largely to sections on anger and fear. The child's need for security is recognised, and discipline is considered at some length. The value of the nursery school and the need for parent education are discussed.

Most people will appreciate Dr. Blatz's realization of the value of effort in children, and this is one of the most useful discussions in the book. His emphasis on consistency in the handling of children's behaviour is in danger of becoming an over rigid rule, and 'isolation' as an invariable consequence of troublesome behaviour will not be readily agreed to.

The book does not set out to present a new theory about children's behaviour, and suffers inevitably from the author's self imposed limitations. It contains some useful practical suggestions.

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but also the people such as engine-drivers and postmen, milkmen and chimney-sweeps whose activities are so fascinating to children.

Starting with two sets of preliminary cards, one of Nursery Rhymes and the other introducing the first book, the grading in the main is most careful. The last two books of the last two divisions contain well-known stories such as *The Gingerbread Man*, *Chicken Licken* and *Rumpelstiltskin*. This complete change, coupled with a change to smaller type, has been found rather baffling by some of the poorer readers, and it might be possible in a future edition to postpone the change till the end of the last division, and then to introduce the stories as asked for by the children and recounted by their mother.

I have found the whole series a most valuable aid to reading and extremely popular with the children.

Irene M. Ironside

**School Management.** Spring Quarter. (Quarterly Published by School Management Ltd., 18 York Buildings, W.C.1. 6/- p.a., single copies 1/6).

The current issue of *School Management* deals mainly with matters of present-day importance in a manner very helpful to those faced with the complexities and problems of modern education. Among those of special interest are the following: 'The School of Tomorrow', by Julian Leathart, F.R.I.B.A., who deals with planning for health and comfort in the school and gives some very practical advice on school furniture, the colour

and texture of walls and school feeding; *Professor Mottram* has a short but very informative article on 'Fish versus Meat'; Elizabeth Midgley, housekeeper at Bootham School, urges the importance of domestic work, especially in the Hospitals, and hopes that the Government will issue a 'stay-put' order for those engaged in such institutions; 'Ps and Qs' by *F. Madden*, the fourth of a series of dialogues between 'Pedagogues and Parents', is a new idea and has future possibilities; 'Three Permanent Careers for Girls', by *Florence B. Low*, attempts to show how the three vital employments of teaching, nursing and domestic employment could be made attractive to young women. The article has interesting suggestions for reform in the training for these careers, and as well she deals with the wider issues involved, such as the problems of competition between men and women, the careers which offer most scope for the development of feminine qualities and the influence of these careers upon social standards.

The good and varied team of contributors make this progressive magazine of interest to many who too often regard education as a dull subject, and it is to be hoped it may become a monthly after the war.

## Editorial Postscript

My chief reaction as I proof-read the series of papers on American education for this and last month's issues of the *New Era* (apart, of course, from wondering where the most audible P-Plane was going to land) has been: How these people do *believe* in education. They know that education can, as Dr. Clyde R. Miller puts it, 'create folkways based on reason and good will'. They know that it can produce better shop-assistants, home-makers and farm labourers—*vide* Mr. John J. Seidel, and that it can and should 'help the child to understand the complexities of a modern, democratic society' (Lelia Ann Taggart). Because he is performing tasks so varied and so necessary to the community, there is a constant obligation on the teacher to make sure that 'living in the classroom is touching all the important phases of actual life.'

This general belief in education as a force that can do pretty well anything that it sets out to do has landed our American friends with an enormous business on hand—thirty million children in school, with one million, two hundred thousand teachers. Perhaps only extreme decentralization—the stubborn claim of 'local communities to determine educational programmes which are in keeping with their peculiar needs and interests'—could have bred this enthusiasm for schooling. Perhaps only extreme decentralization can cope with it. But decentralization itself creates enormous problems in so large a land as the U.S.A.

Mr. Leslie W. Kindred's paper shows admirably the inequalities that arise if each community

insists on financing and administering its own schools. In poor rural areas this is bound to lead to 'a low level of educational service and a high tax bill for the service that is provided'. But one sees clearly why the U.S.A. is chary of a rude levelling of inequalities—for this might lose them something that is rare and probably irreplaceable: the close and living bond between each American community and its schools.

The U.S.A. is half-way down a road which England (I carefully do not say Britain) is only now seriously embarking upon: the provision of universal secondary schooling. Many of her educational problems are different from ours, but one is identical: What happens to the quality of learning when you extend it rapidly to all your children, and have therefore perforce to accommodate it to majority interests and capacities? Must quality be sacrificed to quantity, and if so, is the sacrifice permanent or does some new quality of culture arise in a community that sets out seriously to give every pupil 'an equal chance to receive an education that is in keeping with his capacity to learn'?

I once heard Vivian Ogilvie describe the Blackpool holiday crowd looking at Epstein's *Adam*, which was on show, together with fat ladies and all the fun of the fair. The showmanship was superb, and involved the vast 'gate' in a long slow procession past the statue and upstairs to a gallery exit. Each member of the crowd seemed to pass through the same stages—shocked silence, then sniggering, and then a growing attentiveness—and to emerge at last enhanced in posture and in human dignity.

Well, that was democracy at play. But it gives perhaps the clue to our problem of whether cultural values need be diluted as education becomes universal. The answer lies in the quality of the teacher (in this case, Epstein). And the quality of the teachers of a community depends, by and large, upon the seriousness and generosity with which that community regards them, both in training, during their years of service, and in retirement.

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# Directory of Schools

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About three scholarships are offered annually

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The School is situated in beautiful and peaceful surroundings where the girls are able to enjoy an open-air life. A high standard of scholarship is maintained and at the same time an interest in creative work is developed by the practical and theoretical study of Art and Music. There are weekly discussions on World Affairs and more intensive work on Social and International problems is done by means of voluntary Study Circles.

**Apply to The Secretary.**

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A co-educational boarding school for boys and girls from 2-18 in the centre of a 2,000 acre estate engaged in the scientific development of rural industries. The school gives to Arts and Crafts, Dance, Drama and Music the special attention customary in progressive schools, and combines a modern outlook which is non-sectarian and international with a free and informal atmosphere. It aims to establish the high intellectual and academic standards of the best traditional schools, and the staff therefore includes a proportion of highly qualified scholars actively engaged in research as well as in teaching. With the help of an endowment fund it is planning and erecting up-to-date buildings and equipment.

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A limited number of scholarships are available, and further information about these may be obtained from the Headmaster.

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster : W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.*

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Suggestions for International Action in Education

Vivian Ogilvie

Formerly Secretary, English New Education Fellowship

THE alarming fact now confronts us that the post-war world is going to begin very soon. The educational problems will vary from country to country, according to the nature and extent of the damage sustained in the past few years. In England we have had some measure of interruption and disturbance. At the other end of the scale are countries which have suffered devastation and a deliberate corruption of the young. We have some knowledge of what has happened and some appreciation of what will have to be done. We realize that the full effects of these years on both adults and children remain to be seen.

The U.N.O.E.C.R. and Voluntary Organizations

A good deal of preparation for the future has been done on both sides of the Atlantic. In London a conference of Allied Ministers of Education has been meeting for some time under the chairmanship of the British Minister, the Rt. Hon. A. Butler. In the spring of this year a delegation came over from the U.S.A. to consult with the ministers on the formation of a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. A draft constitution has been prepared and is now being considered by the several Governments. Other bodies, large and small, have been at work too.

In this article I want to assume that adequate first aid measures will be undertaken officially. Only governments will be equal to the

scale and urgency of the immediate basic needs—material facilities, equipment, personnel, organization. I want to discuss some of the tasks to be faced after the emergency stage has been passed and to suggest that they call for the efforts of unofficial bodies as well as for an international office of education maintained by the Governments of the United Nations.

All reconstruction after a war involves something of a dilemma. A short-term policy is needed, because something has to be done at once. And the most natural policy is to restore as far as possible whatever was there before. On the other hand, what was there before is (quite apart from any room for improvement) unlikely to be the most appropriate thing in the new situation. A war has intervened and the new situation will not be a mere restoration of the pre-war situation. More than that, each liberated country will be facing, not the pre-Nazi situation restored, but a post-Nazi situation—a very different matter. Hence a second policy is also needed, a long-term policy which should be elastic, creative, and to some extent experimental. The danger is that short-term policies may prejudice the chances of long-term policies; that there will be too much restoration, too little scrapping and replacement.

If the post-war situation calls, as I believe it will, for new modes and instruments of education and a new content of life for the young, then we shall need all the insight, ingenuity and flexibility that we

can command. And we shall need to preserve plenty of elbow-room.

It seems to me that here lies the special sphere of unofficial bodies. They should, of course, work as closely with the official bodies as independence allows and they should be in day-to-day touch with average educational practice. This does not mean that they must abandon all objectives that lie beyond immediate attainment. On the contrary, if their methods are realistic, their best service will consist in being the champions of remoter aims, the centres of ferment and fruitful discontent.

Voluntary organizations of a national kind are extremely valuable. But they are not enough. Experience, such as ours in the New Education Fellowship, has shown that international organizations have a special use. They strengthen the hands of national organizations, they keep a current of ideas running from country to country, they furnish teachers with a wider basis of comparison by which to evaluate the work of their own governmental bodies, and they help to create a solidarity between educationists the world over.

Voluntary bodies, I have suggested, can be specially useful in the sphere of long-term policies. There is, however, plenty of work for them to do at once. Take the simple matter of equipment. They should press at once for the early provision of up-to-date aids like film projectors, radios, pictorial and other visual material, and prepare guidance on the effective use of these



aids. One may hazard a guess that exhausted, nerve-racked children—not to mention adult victims of upheaval and strain—may respond better to these vehicles of stimulus and instruction than to books and orthodox teaching.

The psychological state of children after the war may call for even more drastic innovations in school life. It may be that for several years the primary aims of education should be catharsis and emotional stabilisation. This is nothing more than a speculation, which I mention as a hint that we should be ready to contemplate quite unusual measures, and that unofficial bodies are the people to investigate and experiment.

I will not deal with the more obvious tasks of the United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction such as making available to all nations the vast body of uncontroversial knowledge in such fields as medicine, engineering, agriculture, etc., which are of prime importance to the health and happiness of mankind. There should be no delay in planning research and exchange on an international scale in these fields. I shall deal more specifically with the questions affecting the educator in relation to his school work.

### The Curriculum

Let us turn to one of the more obvious long-term jobs, the familiar question of curriculum reform. There have been plenty of proposals and not a few interesting experiments. But, so far, tradition, inertia, parental prejudice, examination requirements, and the vested interest of teachers in the things they know have stood in the way of any general change. Now is the chance of reshaping the content of instruction before the old curriculum has dug itself in again. Voluntary organizations should be the spearhead of a movement for making what is taught both psychologically and socially relevant—relevant to what we know of children's development, relevant to the facts and demands of modern life. By working out new programmes and securing as much agreement as possible among teachers and parents, we can prepare the way for official action. The United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction might provide a centre

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of information on curriculum planning.

Might we not even reach agreement on a common core for the curriculum that could be used by many countries?

*Science.* As far as the sciences are concerned—and any up-to-date curriculum would give them a large place—early agreement should be possible, since they raise no political difficulties. Once the Nazi ideology is eradicated, even biology need be no stumbling-block, unless I under-rate the strength of religious obscurantism.

*An International Auxiliary Language.* It would ease the task, just as it would ease all intercourse, if we could overcome the curse of Babel. The idea of a world auxiliary language deserves more than a passing giggle, especially if our thoughts stretch beyond the needs of the white peoples. More and more scientific work will be done in the less known languages. Will the French chemist have to learn Chinese and the Chinese physiologist Russian?

There are parts of the globe where all attempts to raise the standards of life are frustrated by the multiplicity of tongues spoken by a comparatively small population. In New Guinea, for instance, I am told that over a hundred distinct languages are spoken by a population of one million.

*World History.* What about the thorny subject of history? We

keep on saying that the world is one. Then why not tell its story in the same way? It would help greatly towards laying the foundation of a common outlook. I know the difficulties. But at least materials might be collected and arranged to the satisfaction of a certain number of nations. If the job were well done, its merits would tell. And, I suspect, a really useful conception of history would omit as unimportant many of the topics that rouse national *amour propre*.

*Ethics and Values.* More difficult by far is the question of standards of behaviour. I mean that complexus of problems that includes individual, social and international ethics. It crops up in school as religious instruction, moral instruction, civics, world citizenship and what not. The standards vary from country to country, from one social group to another. They conflict. And they are not transmitted mainly through the schools because they surround the growing child every hour of the day. They are taught by the habits of family life, by the implications of religious, social, political and economic systems, by advertisements, books, newspapers, radio and cinema.

Is there any way of reaching agreement on certain common standards of decency on certain basic concepts that could be taught in schools everywhere? This is a very big problem and, in the light of the war, no one would think it easy to



olve. But it is desperately serious for the fate of the human race, and calls for research at the international level.

### International Understanding

If we look at the rebuilding of the world as educators and psychologists we shall see that we must undertake a vast study that may include the whole psychological field, having regard to the fact that personality patterns developed in early childhood tend to persist, influencing not only the immediate personal relationships, but also the wider social contacts. What are the psychological foundations of intercultural appreciations and successful international relations?

Unfortunately, we do not yet possess enough exact and organized knowledge to say our say with

confidence, precision and weight. No adequate systematic study has been made of the psychological causes or psychological aspects, of tensions and conflicts among the peoples of the world. For instance, some peoples have lived under foreign domination for centuries; many have had this hard experience in the present war. It should be recognized that living under subjugation and subsequent release from it are disruptive of feelings of personal security and of normal attitudes. Again, those who have never had the experience of domination by a foreign power may at times find it difficult to understand those who have felt the iron heel of the conqueror. These and similar questions need investigation on an international basis, and it is to be hoped that voluntary organ-

izations and the proposed United Nations Organization will include them in their research.

In thus sketching lightly some of the ground that might be covered by the new United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction, I have purposely not referred to some of the services which could be rendered, such as arrangement of international visits, exchanges of pupils and teachers, conferences, exhibitions, etc. These will readily occur to everyone. And in planning for the new times ahead we are mindful that much has been done by two organizations established after the last war, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with its Paris Institute, founded by the League of Nations, and the International Bureau of Education in Geneva.

## The Problem of Homeless Children

D. W. Winnicott, F.R.C.P.

and Clare Britton

Physician

Psychiatric Social Worker

THERE have long been orphanages and homes for the destitute child. Some have undoubtedly done good work, but many of them have been content simply to feed and clothe the children, and have failed altogether to provide for their emotional needs. It has been found that the institutional child tends to lack something, not only in personal happiness, but also in development of character and in the qualities of citizenship, and there is a growing public awareness of the seriousness of this fact. The war has produced an increasing number of homeless children in Great Britain and still more in the Occupied Countries. All who have a serious interest in the future, therefore, as well as those directly concerned with the welfare of children, must be brought to realise that haphazard methods of dealing with the problem presented by so many homeless children may have serious consequences.

It seems that we are faced with the need to provide 'homes' for vast numbers of children at the very moment when we have begun to realise the inadequacies of institutional life. Adoption into normal loving families is probably the happiest solution for the majority, but it is obvious that, in the

Occupied countries particularly, a certain proportion of these children will have been so damaged by the unhappiness they have undergone that they will be unable to take their place in a normal home circle at least until they have been helped to recover by special care and understanding. Also, the placing of children in the right foster-homes is something that must take time, and it is obvious that the children will have to be gathered into centres from which adoption can be organised and supervised. Presumably, therefore, there will be Hostels or 'Homes' for them.

It must be assumed that the majority of the children will have originally had satisfactory parents and homes of their own, so that although they may seem to be very ill on account of the bitter experiences they have had they will be likely to be able to make use of an environment, if it can be provided, that reminds them of that which they have once known and trusted. Others, on the other hand, will have had no early experience of home life, or will be found to be so ill that any attempt to give them the idea of what home means will be necessarily a start from scratch. Some, of course, will have to be recognised as permanently damaged by the too great emotional

strain to which they have been subjected.

In some ways evacuation in England provided us with a situation similar to that which will face post-war Europe. One outstanding difference between the two is that the children in Europe may be permanently homeless, whereas evacuation in England is to some extent a temporary measure; also, in Europe probably all the children will need to be gathered into Hostels at first, whereas in England the majority of children went straight into foster-homes, and only those who showed difficulties were eventually placed in hostels.

The setting-up of evacuation hostels for children who could not settle in billets provided us with an opportunity for experiment in the provision of substitute homes. The complete results of these various experiments have yet to be seen, but it is felt that the experiences gained so far may, in the meantime, be of some use to those who face the more serious problem of the permanent placement of homeless children.

We should like to point out that in the Oxfordshire scheme, which provides us with our own experience, we cannot aim at the cure of the permanently damaged children,



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who all need prolonged psychotherapy. We can, however, aim at the proper management of those who come to us with quite severe symptoms, but whose illness is a temporary one, and in the nature of a defence against an adverse environment. On the whole these children respond well, and eventually are able to enter into home life again. The children get consistent and continuous management, and we find that nearly all of them tend to improve, even though they have had no individual psychotherapy. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that every child that is neglected becomes a burden on society, hardening into an anti-social character, or developing some other sort of mental illness.

**Organization**

In Oxfordshire there has developed a scheme in which several hostels form a group under the direct administration of the County Council. This has made it economical to obtain the services of a psychiatrist, visiting one day a week, and to employ a whole-time trained psychiatric social worker to carry out the routine management

of the hostels under the psychiatrist's direction. Both these officers are responsible to a special committee appointed by the County Council.

The grouping of hostels in this way has also made possible a certain amount of classification in the placing of children in the various hostels, although this is limited by the fact that there are only five hostels. Another advantage in the grouping of hostels is that if the need arises children can be changed from one type of hostel to another without losing all sense of continuity. This seems to us to be important.

The responsibility for the appointment of Wardens for each hostel is taken by the Committee, but the advice of the psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker has always been sought. The psychiatric social worker is responsible to the Committee for the appointment of assistants in the hostels, and this is always done in consultation with the Wardens.

All the hostels are in the country, and are accommodated in ordinary houses acquired and adapted for the purpose. In order to meet the

needs of evacuation, it has been necessary to make two of the hostels larger than the others. The largest can take 25 children, and we feel that this is the absolute maximum that should be allowed otherwise the hostel becomes an institution rather than a home, and so loses most of its value. We think that large hostels are to be avoided whenever possible, and find that 12 children seem the ideal number.

In our experience it seems best not to have the hostels placed too near each other. If they are, the children meet and compare notes and this may create awkward situations for the staff, as no two hostels can be alike. Also, as far as the hostel staff are concerned, it seems that they have more freedom to develop along their own particular lines if they are not constantly comparing their own work with that done in a nearby hostel.

**Psychiatrist**

The psychiatrist, who is a doctor, takes final responsibility for the work done in the hostels, and is consulted by the psychiatric social worker and the hostel staff about



all the important problems that arise. He cannot undertake regular individual psycho-therapy with the children owing to lack of time, but he interviews any particular child who seems to be in difficulties and who is giving special trouble. Also, by visits and discussions with the staff he attempts to help them in their adaptation to each child, thus enabling them to understand and develop their own work.

The fact that the psychiatrist uses the limited amount of time which he can spend in the hostels in this way, rather than in the regular treatment of three or four children, means that his specialised knowledge is at the disposal of the staff in their dealings with the 80 children in the scheme.

The psychiatrist, through the psychiatric social worker, is responsible for the placing of children in the hostels. He knows most of the children personally, and they value him as an outside friend on whom they can rely in the moments of stress which inevitably arise in hostel life.

#### Psychiatric Social Worker

In practice, the psychiatric social worker controls the whole of the work except for maintenance and alteration of buildings. There are many reasons why it is important to have one individual at the centre of the scheme. In the first place, the psychiatric social worker has been able to build up a wide experience by being in touch with all that each hostel has gone through, and is able to pass on the fruits of this experience to the Committee and to new wardens as they are appointed. The psychiatric social worker will be in a position also to know which type of case does best in each hostel, and therefore will be able to place new cases referred to the group, and to transfer cases from one hostel to another within the group.

The psychiatric social worker, because of her special training and experience, can appreciate the true nature of the work being done, and the difficulties inherent in the exacting task of running a hostel. As she is always available, she must be prepared to discuss difficulties with members of the hostel staff at any time. It is not that the staff need special sympathy, but it is important for them that the officer whom they are immediately re-

sponsible should be personally acquainted with all the work done in the hostels. This officer, in turn, must understand the point of view of the administrative body.

The function of the psychiatric social worker as far as the children are concerned is to give them a sense of continuity throughout the changes to which they are subjected. She is the only person who knows each child at every stage. It is she who first comes to his rescue in the billet in which he is causing a disturbance. She sees him in his school and billet, and then in the hostel, and possibly in more than one hostel. If there is a change in hostel wardens it is the psychiatric social worker who gives some feeling of stability during the period of change. It is the psychiatric social worker who re-billets the child, if and when the time comes. She is also in contact with the child's home, visiting the parents whenever possible. She is thus able in some degree to gather together the separate threads of the child's life and to give him the opportunity of preserving something important to him from each stage of his experience.

#### Hostel Wardens and Assistants

There is no particular training for hostel wardens, and even if there were, their selection as suitable people for the work would be of more importance than their training. We find it impossible to generalize about the type of person who makes a good warden. Our successful wardens have differed from each other widely in education, previous experience, and interests, and have been drawn from various walks of life. The following is a list of the previous occupations of some of them: elementary school teacher, social worker, trained church worker, commercial artist, instructor and matron in an approved school, master and matron at a remand home, worker in a public assistance institution, prison welfare officer.

We find that the nature of previous training and experience matters little compared with the ability to assimilate experience, and to deal in a genuine, spontaneous way with the events and relationships of life. This is of the utmost importance, for only those who are confident enough to be themselves,

and to act in a natural way, can act consistently day in and day out. Furthermore, wardens are put to such a severe test by the children coming into hostels that only those who are able to be themselves can stand the strain. We must point out, however, that there will be times when the warden will have to 'act naturally' in the sense that an actor acts naturally. This is particularly important with ill children. If a child comes and whines: 'I've cut my finger', just when the warden is in the middle of making Income Tax returns, or when the cook has given notice, he or she must act as though the child had not come in at such an awkward moment; for these children are often too ill or too anxious to be able to allow for the warden's own personal difficulties as well as their own.

We therefore try to choose as hostel wardens those who possess this ability to be consistently natural in their behaviour, for we regard it as essential to the work. We would count as important also the possession of some skill, such as music, painting, pottery, etc. Above and beyond all these things, however, it is, of course, vital that the wardens possess a genuine love of children, for only this will see them through the inevitable ups and downs of hostel life.

We believe that if a man and wife can be appointed as joint wardens many deficiencies are avoided and many difficulties do not arise. In making such an appointment we assume that some of the wardens have or will have children of their own. This gives a sense of stability to the group.

Another important requirement in hostel wardens is their willingness to stay in the job. A change of warden means casualties among the children every time. Brilliant people who organize one hostel well, and pass on to another to do the same there, would be better if they had never existed as far as the children are concerned. It is the permanent nature of the home that makes it valuable, even more than the fact that the work is done intelligently.

We do not expect the wardens to carry out any prescribed type of régime, or even to carry out agreed plans. Wardens who have to be told what to do are of no use, because the important things have



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to be done on the spot in a way that is natural to the individual concerned. Only thus will the warden's relationship become real and therefore of importance to the child. Wardens are encouraged to build up a home and community life to the best of their ability, and it will be found that this is along the line of their own beliefs and way of life. No two hostels will therefore be alike.

We find that there are wardens who like organizing large groups of children, and others who prefer to have intimate personal relationships with a few children. Some prefer abnormal children of one type or another, and some like true mental defectives.

The education of the wardens in the work is important, and has been discussed earlier as part of the work of the psychiatrist, and of the psychiatric social worker. This education is best done on the job, by the discussion of problems as they arise. It is a great help if wardens are confident enough in themselves to be able to think along psychological lines and discuss problems with other wardens and experienced people.

The staffing of hostels apart from the wardens presents peculiar difficulties, especially where the children are rather anti-social. With normal children the assistants can be young people who are learning the job and practising taking responsibility and acting on their own initiative with a view to becoming wardens themselves at a later date. Where the children are anti-social, however, the management has to be strong, and cannot avoid being dictatorial, so that assistants have to be constantly carrying out orders from the warden when they would prefer to be working on their own initiative. They therefore become easily bored, or else they like being told what to do, in which case they are not much good. These problems are inherent in the work.

#### **True Nature of Home**

One thing that has made us realize the inadequacies of large orphanages has been a deeper understanding of what a good home means to a child, and its function in his development.

Briefly we could perhaps say that a good home is one in which father and mother live together in a stable

relationship into which the child can be accepted and welcomed. In such an environment the child gradually learns to trust his parents and to believe in their goodness. But in order to establish this belief it seems that he must test over and over again their ability to remain good parents in spite of anything he may do to hurt or annoy them. By means of this testing he gradually convinces himself, if the parents do in fact stand the strain. Thus he builds up that belief which is so necessary if his future development is to be satisfactory. If the child's own parents do not exist, or if they do not stand the strain that belongs to the building up of a stable family life, the child must surely always remain unconvinced, and uncertain of himself and of others.

This is, so to speak, the first lesson in social adjustment, for if the parents are proved to be trustworthy, the child has every reason to believe that other people may be the same, so that he can face life in an optimistic way, ready for the new experiences which it brings.

In the actual evacuation experience it has been found that the



children who have had a good early experience and whose homes are intact have as a rule been able to stand the transplantation to billets. On the other hand, of the children who have proved difficult to billet and who have gone back to evacuation areas, or who have been admitted to hostels or placed in approved Schools a big proportion have never known a good relation to both parents or to their own homes, or else their homes have recently failed them in some striking way.

If it is recognised how intimately a child's sense of security is bound up with his relationship to his parents, it becomes obvious that no other people can give him so much. Every child has the right to his own good home in which to grow, and it is nothing but a misfortune that deprives him of it.

In our hostel work, therefore, we recognize that we cannot give to the children anything so good as their own good home would have been. We can only offer a substitute home.

Each hostel tries to reproduce as nearly as possible a home environment for each child in it. This means first of all the provision of positive things: a building, food, clothing, human love and understanding; a time-table, schooling; apparatus and ideas leading to rich play and constructive work. The hostel also provides substitute parents and other human relationships. And then, these things being provided, each child, according to the degree of his distrust, and according to the degree of his hopelessness about the loss of his own home (and sometimes his recognition of the inadequacies of that home while it lasted), is all the time testing the hostel staff as he would test his own parents. Sometimes he does this directly, but most of the time he is content to let another child do the testing for him. An important thing about this testing is that it is not something that can be achieved and done with. Always somebody has to be a nuisance. Often one of the staff will say: 'We'd be all right if it weren't for Tommy . . .', but in point of fact the others can only afford to be 'all right' because Tommy is being a nuisance, and is proving to them that the home can stand up to Tommy's testing, and could there-

fore presumably stand up to their own.

The usual response of a child who is placed in a good hostel can be described as having three phases. For the first short phase the child is extraordinarily normal (it will be a long time before he is so normal again); he has new hope, he scarcely sees people as they are, and the staff and the other children have not yet had any reason to begin to disillusion him. Almost every child goes through a short period of good behaviour when he first comes to a hostel. It is a dangerous stage because what he sees and responds to in the warden and his staff is his ideal of what a good father and mother would be like. Grown-ups are inclined to think: 'This child sees we are nice, and easily trusts us.' But he doesn't see they are nice; he doesn't see *them* at all; he just imagines they are nice. It is a symptom of illness to believe that anything can be 100 per cent. good, and the child starts off with an ideal which is destined to be shattered.

The child sooner or later enters into the second phase, the breaking-down of his ideal. He sets about this first by testing the building and the people physically. He wants to know what damage he can do, and how much he can do with impunity. Then if he finds that he can be physically managed, that is, that the place and the people in it have nothing to fear from him physically, he starts to test by subtlety, putting one member of the staff against another, trying to make people quarrel, trying to make people give each other away, and doing all he can to get favoured himself. When a hostel is being managed unsatisfactorily it is this second phase which becomes almost a constant feature.

If the hostel withstands these tests the child enters on the third phase, settles down with a sigh of relief, and joins in the life of the group as an ordinary member. It should be borne in mind that his first real contacts with the other children will probably be in the shape of a fight or some kind of attack, and we have noticed that often the first child to be attacked by a new child will later become that child's first friend.

In short, the hostels provide positive good things, and give opportunities for their value and

reality to be tested continuously by the children. Sentimentality has no place in the management of children, and no ultimate good can come from offering children artificial conditions of indulgence; by carefully-administered justice they must gradually be brought up against the consequences of their own destructive actions. Each child will be able to stand this in so far as he has been able to get some positive good out of hostel life, that is, in so far as he has found people who are truly reliable, and has begun to build up belief in them and in himself.

It must be remembered that the preservation of law and order is necessary to the children, and will be a relief to them, for it means that the hostel life and the good things for which the hostel stands will be preserved in spite of all that they can do.

### Types of Hostel

It has been stated above that children are placed in this or that hostel according to their psychological classification. In actual practice, however, we found that we could not *set out* to run one hostel for depressed children, another for the normal, and another for the anti-social, etc. But by careful experiment and in the course of time we found that one hostel warden was particularly successful with one type of child and another with another type. We therefore try to send each warden the children that suit him best. In this way specialization has come about, not by planning, but by careful observation of the work of each warden and his ability to develop along certain lines.

As far as the child is concerned, it is important that he should go to a hostel in which the children are not too dissimilar from himself in experience and in their reactions to experience and in their need to be strongly managed or allowed freedom.

If it is to be presumed that the majority of children in hostels in post-war Europe will be children who have had a good start in life, but who have been hurt by their experiences, they can to some extent be expected to recover, given time and a stable background. In so far as this is the case, the hostel's job will be to provide a firm framework for their lives, a



framework of human relationships, and to allow for the natural processes of healing which will take place in the course of months or years. It is surely very important that the main layout of any scheme should be designed primarily for the benefit of these children who can recover.

In our experience the only good method of distinguishing these comparatively normal children from those who on account of their early experiences and disturbed emotional development have to start from scratch, is by trial and error under hostel conditions. Severity of symptoms is a poor guide. In each group of hostels it will therefore be convenient to plan to have one hostel which we will call Hostel A, to which will be sent children who are considered to be fundamentally healthy. Some of these children will remain here permanently, but the aim would be wherever possible to send them into households very carefully chosen as suitable for adopting a normal child. On the other hand there would have to be Hostels B, C, and D, for the various types of ill children, some of whom would be directly placed in them according to initial diagnosis, and some of whom would be transferred from Hostel A after being found to be ill.

With regard to the ill children, the first group requiring special management will be the *anti-social children*. This group is bound to contain children with varying types of illness, but a common feature will be that each child in it will be specially active in testing his environment. Even when the environment stands up well to the test, anti-social children cannot believe this fact for more than a short length of time, and they have to be managed in a group in which more or less constant testing is being carried out. In the management of a hostel of this type there will have to be more of a dictatorship than would be desirable for normal children. If the management is successful the testing will not be so obvious all the time, but any relaxation on the part of the staff will mean that it becomes constant and active again.

Gradually, however, in any one group, individuals can be seen developing a belief in the environment's ability to remain both good and strong.

If in any group there are several hostels for anti-social children, these should be classified as far as possible into (1) those catering for children who have known good homes, but whose homes have been destroyed through the accident of war rather than through parental troubles, and (2) those catering for children who have never known good homes—for instance, illegitimate children and children who have experienced homes of their own which failed to stand the test and which went to pieces quite apart from the physical effects of war.

Anti-social children, although not fully or easily believing in a good environment that can stand the test, nevertheless have not given up hope. Children who have given up hope are ill in some other way, depressed or confused or introverted, and they all tend to pass through the anti-social stage as they recover hope on their way to recovery.

*Introverted children* who have defended themselves against adverse external conditions by withdrawing altogether into themselves, form a group quite distinct from the anti-social children. They may be apparently mentally defective, and yet are capable of making a complete recovery. Their treatment is particularly interesting to some workers. If the hostel warden can enter into, and really appreciate, the child's inner world and help him to share it with others by expressing it in drawing and painting, etc., he will be doing important therapeutic work. The amount of recovery that children of this type will make in response to appreciative understanding can be very marked.

*Depressed children* may be passing through a phase, or may be more or less permanently organized into a depressive state. They may have strong suicidal ideas or hypochondriacal fears and all kinds of worries just like depressed adults. Of all the groups of ill children, this group probably contains the most valuable children, who tend to feel responsible and who, when well, can be trusted with important things. Some of the more healthy children will pass through phases of depression, which can be looked on as periods of sadness or mourning in which the child is unconscious of what is mourned.

Extreme care has to be taken

with the staffing of a hostel for such children, and the wardens have to be able to *tolerate* depression. The basis of the management of depressed children is that they are capable of making a spontaneous recovery. There are very special problems associated with the false cure of depressed children by forceful personalities on whom the children become very dependent. But details of these cannot be fully developed here.

Some of the children are distinguished from the others by being *distorted* in one way or another, so that they torture animals, or eat worms out of turnips in the fields or go round the garden pulling up the carrots and replacing them after cutting them; or else they are curiously suspicious, especially distrustful of kindness, or are always trying to put people against each other by exploiting their carefully observed weaknesses, or they are always causing trouble by suggesting nasty things to other children, while remaining outside and detached and uninvolved in what subsequently happens. These children form a heterogeneous group and the word 'insane' could be applied to some of them. They cause great difficulties in the various hostels for other types of children, but, of course, to some extent must always be found in any big group. The point is that no amount of skilful management and tolerance can cure these children who need long, personal psychotherapy, which unfortunately is not usually available. It is certainly no solution of their problem to herd them together into an institution.

For the success of any scheme it is essential to have the *backward children* dealt with on their own. Obviously mental defectives with an intelligence quotient of 70 and under quite easily get recognition and there is usually some already existing provision for them. We are referring, however, to the backward children with a higher intelligence quotient who really need specialized education and a specialized kind of friendly management which does not aim too high. These same children, who respond well to specialized education are a constant nuisance in a mixed group, especially as the other children are likely to be excitable, quick-witted, restless children who become impatient of a classroom technique



which is too slow for their quickness of uptake.

### Re-sorting and Re-billeting

Sometimes we find that it is necessary to move a child from one hostel to another within the same group. This may be because he is the wrong type for the hostel into which we have put him, or the hostel at that moment is unable to absorb him. Another reason for transfer would be that a child sometimes grows out of the particular environment which a hostel provides, in which case he is told that he has been removed. In practice we do not make many of these changes, but we regard as important the ability to do so should need arise. Often one child can hinder the work of a whole hostel, whereas another hostel with another set of children can accommodate him and his difficulties. Often a difficult situation has been solved by the timely transfer of a child in this way.

On the whole, we do not believe in changes for the children, and we find that they do not stand changes at all well. This is not in the least surprising, of course, and it only means that if the child relapses he has not yet had a long enough time in a constant environment. Possibly in the hostel he appears to be fairly natural and stable—but it must be remembered that this stability may still depend on the hostel—and if he leaves it too soon he has to begin painfully all over again to build up his belief in his environment. This time it will be more difficult, because every time he fails he is less likely to have the courage to start again. We have found that given enough time in one environment children can and do work through to a measure of independence.

In practice we do re-billet some children from hostels in accordance with the policy of the Ministry of Health. If we are fortunate and find a really good billet, the project is often successful. But we do not often say: this child is now billetable; if we find a good billet we look round for a child who is fit to make good use of it.

In order to preserve the work already done with hostel children, we feel that it is of great importance that the hostel should be able to keep a child through adolescence, and placed in suitable employment. To cut him adrift at such an

important stage in his life is surely unfair, and it may indeed be disastrous.

### Some Limitations of a War-time Experiment

It is a misfortune in evacuation hostels that the work is felt by all concerned to be temporary. In an important, fundamental way this affects the staff as well as the children. As far as the child is concerned he knows that at the end of the war he will go home—if he has a home to go to. If his home does not exist, or he has had no satisfactory contact with it for years, then he does not know what will become of him. The child may then very well be too anxious to let himself trust the people in the hostel and make use of what they can give him—his fear of being eventually let down and separated from them is too great. In the same way some members of the staff may feel that they cannot give all they would like to give to the children because they realize their contact will only be a temporary one, and, moreover, they themselves may dread separation from the children who come to mean much to them. 'Homes' of a more permanent nature would not be built on the knowledge that any outward event (the end of the war) would cause their disintegration.

Another war-time difficulty has been that of finding suitable billets for children who are getting better, and for children who have grown up out of a particular hostel, children whose newly won confidence in life can be easily undermined. War-time conditions make it difficult for foster-parents to give all the time and supervision required by the child. By pressure on hostel accommodation we have often been obliged to billet a child whose stability was not sufficiently established, and we have also been obliged, because of the shortage of billets, to use those of which we felt rather uncertain. In a more permanent scheme placing out would be done only in the case of children who were really ready for it, and when really good foster homes had been found.

Another limitation to actual experiment which the war has imposed has been the fact that primarily hostels exist to relieve billeting officers of difficult children. We have never lost sight of this fact,

and this has meant that many children who are unsuitable for our hostels have nevertheless had to be admitted. In other words, we exist to deal with a practical social problem, and not to carry out an experiment with carefully selected children. We feel that this gives value to our work, but we should like to point out that at the same time it imposes limitations. Obviously the work done in each hostel would be easier and better if cases could be selected every time for suitability rather than accepted from necessity.

In conclusion we should like to say that in spite of the limitations of a war-time experiment we personally feel that it has been one well worth making. For not only has it demonstrated the difficulties and possibilities of providing substitute homes for children, but it has surely established the fact that in the treatment of children suffering from emotional disturbances, residence in a hostel under specialized management can have definite therapeutic value.

Evacuation hostel schemes have been allowed to develop in the various localities according to local conditions and local needs, with the result that a really big collective experience has been gained. It is hoped that from the increased knowledge of children and their difficulties which has been gained, some positive good will have been brought out of a war-time necessity.

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# Self-Government

C. Vulliamy

IN May, 1937, just over 4,000 children, from 7 to 14, were evacuated to England from Bilbao, Spain, after a fairly brief but intense experience of food shortage and aerial bombardment. They were placed in a large clearing camp near Southampton and from there gradually drafted to colonies of roughly 10 to 100 children, where they remained until they were old enough to earn their living, unless claimed by their parents and repatriated, or else temporarily adopted by some English family.

Only two such colonies now remain. The one at Carshalton, on which this article is based, has housed a changing population of 15-25 children, mainly under 14's attending local English schools, ever since the summer of 1937, but none of its present inhabitants has been living there longer than four years, and the colony did not begin its life as a self-governing community until about two years ago.

The case for self-government rests on the development of every child concerned, and the only real justification for our own experiment is the changes observed in the children here over the last two years: in the story of how Juan, once timid and depressed, has gained complete self-confidence, of how Rodrigo has overcome his bad temper and Luisa her dependence on others; how Roberto, a latent delinquent with a shocking family history, has gradually lost his irresponsibility and developed a moral and social sense which make him a valuable member of the House Committee and of the community, and how Tome, expelled from an English school as insufferable, has been taken in hand by the others and is being slowly turned into a good citizen. Owing to limitation of space readers must be asked to take most of this on trust, and to accept a general assurance that the methods described have proved most emphatically worth while.

A preliminary period of re-orientation and recuperation before self-government is attempted is important, though it certainly need not be prolonged for five years! These children had not suffered acute war conditions long enough

to be deeply affected, mentally or physically; there are few neurotics among them. Immediate reactions—panic at the sight of aircraft, and abnormal anxiety over food—wore off in the first few months, though there was a tendency to hoard some things such as soap and clothing, to take back to Spain. Moreover, almost all these refugees had had at least 6 years of normal family life, and although the circumstances in which most of their homes disintegrated were due to the war, they were not specially tragic or horrifying. But all the same they needed a respite before being asked to take on new responsibilities. They were restless and unable to concentrate, and were very impatient of restraint, which made any kind of colony life difficult. These troubles were intensified in the larger groups where routine had to be more rigid, and where gangs could form more easily among children. The only safeguard against an anti-social attitude and behaviour in the uprooted child is to give him a *home*. He needs the sense of security which he can best regain through close association with the adults in charge of the home, and this is rarely possible in a colony of more than, say, 30 children.

The atmosphere of the Carshalton home in the early years was far from ideal, but at least it was always one of friendly co-operation between staff and children. Difficulties and discomforts were shared by all, and the adults, if they sometimes lost their tempers and punished with some harshness, were never dignified or aloof. I think that such an administration, even if it is somewhat lax and inefficient, is a better basis for later self-government than the more military type of discipline, which is bound to be reflected in the children's attitude to one another. If our House Committee has very seldom abused its powers, this is because the staff have never ruled through fear, even in its more socially acceptable forms, so that there is no motive for transferred revenge.

The stages by which the children have taken over responsibility have been very gradual. There were

Warden and Hon. Secretary : Basque Children's Home,  
Carshalton, Surrey

some weeks in the summer of 1942 when most of them were away on holidays and the staff had been reading and discussing various books on progressive schools, etc. (*Children in Soviet Russia*, Homer Lane's *Talks to Parents and Teachers*, A. S. Neill's *Problem Child*, and others). Other people's experiences are, of course, only useful in helping to crystallise one's own, and these books would have been of no use to us if the time had not been ripe for our own experiment. As it was, the decision was not taken without passionate and exhaustive discussion, and there were many fears and hesitations, and even some active opposition from members of the local committee responsible for collecting the funds on which the home depends.

## Self-Government : Adult-directed

The children returned refreshed and ready to make a new start, but before the project of forming a House Committee was discussed with them, the idea was introduced indirectly by a Spanish woman on the staff at Dartington Hall School (Totnes, S. Devon), who visited us and described the system of self-government there. Changes were in the air, and the idea of a House Committee was accepted with enthusiasm, though experience was to show how far the children were at that time from having grasped all the implications. They were divided into five age groups, each of which had to elect and brief a representative on the committee, and in addition there were two adults, one from the staff and one from the local committee. Meetings were held every Wednesday evening, and the minimum term of office was 4 weeks, after which the Committee would dissolve itself and announce fresh elections. Normal committee procedure was followed fairly closely; there was a Secretary (sometimes an adult) who took minutes, and a Treasurer who administered the funds. These came mainly from a grant made by the local committee for the payment of pocket money, etc., plus 25 per cent. of the proceeds of any concert in which the children took part. Pocket money (6d. a week for those



over 10, and 3d. for the younger ones) was considered as payment for work done in the house, and there was a regular system of fines for omissions. For a time, and rather as an emergency measure, work in the garden was also paid for at 2d. an hour, but this is no longer necessary, as work is done for love.

The main concern of the Committee, apart from such routine business, was to hear complaints and deal with offenders (who were always called to make their defence) and to draw up and enforce the rules of the house. The secretary was responsible for the notice board, where Committee decisions and announcements of general interest were displayed as well as a weekly Black List (reprimands and punishments) and a List of Honour where anyone who had done useful work outside his own job was publicly congratulated. The term of office was made short deliberately so as to give everyone a turn, and so as to prevent less useful members from spoiling the work of the group by lack of interest.

During the early months there were two outstanding difficulties. The first was due to the presence of adults at meetings, and was certainly not all the children's fault. The habit of authority is hard to break, and it was almost impossible to resist the constant appeals to settle an argument or take responsibility for a difficult decision. A great advance towards real democracy was made when a boy of 12 had the courage to accuse one of the staff of breaking the rule against corporal punishment by hitting him, and received a public and whole-hearted apology; but it was not until the adults retired, about a year ago, that the committee really began to take its proper place in the running of the house. The second big problem was to get the children to be committee-conscious all the time, and not just for an hour or two on Wednesday evenings. It is one thing to take a decision at a meeting and quite another to see that it is carried out, and I doubt very much whether this difficulty can ever be solved unless the group includes a number of children who are over 14—it is too much to expect of the younger ones that their sense of social responsibility should function all the time.

During the earlier phase both

elections and group meetings were often most perfunctory. Before a meeting the representative would go round (if he remembered) to any members of his group that he could find and ask 'Anything for the committee?' and the members, their attention being taken up with something else, would usually answer 'No!' Elections tended to be carried out in the same spirit, some groups merely arranging a rota, and others forcing membership on some unpopular child who was probably quite unsuitable and did not in the least represent their group. There were also hints of corruption and favouritism among the less responsible members, but public opinion was always very strongly against this and it has long since disappeared.

### Self-Government : Child-directed

At present the five members are elected from three groups, the older ones being allowed one member and the others two each. Elections are for a term of three months (though individuals can be called upon to resign earlier if they are not considered satisfactory) and to miss a group meeting is a grave offence. The distribution of membership is a precaution against the Committee being unduly influenced by the seniors, who include boys of 18 and 19, with practically an adult's authority. Other modifications include the institution of 'chances' for first offences; the offender instead of being punished is given an opportunity to make amends by doing something useful of his own choice. Such work, being undertaken voluntarily, is done better and more cheerfully than a punishment carried out under compulsion.

### Mayores : Election and Function

We now reach what is probably the most interesting development in the life of the colony. Some six months after the withdrawal of the adults from the House Committee, a member of the staff made a proposal which at first sounded like a form of prefect system, but which turned out to be something very different. He suggested that the children should be divided into two groups, not by age, but by responsibility. Those who were elected *mayores* or grown ups should be less bound by formal rules, because they could be relied on to use their own judgment and not to abuse their

privileges. Discipline, of course, remained entirely in the hands of the House Committee, which was drawn from both groups; a *mayor* was responsible primarily for his own behaviour and only very indirectly for other people's. This is an extremely important point and means that such a system can only be applied in a community which is already fully self-governing and in which there is no conflict between children and staff. Prefects are usually the tools of the staff, winning favour and privilege at the expense of the younger children, and using their powers to revenge themselves for former punishments. The *mayores* have no powers, but they have tremendous influence. It will be worth while to consider the formation and progress of the group in some detail.

Really the first foreshadowing of it was in the spring of 1943, when a meeting of all the children of 12 plus was called to consider the case of Leandro, a boy of 16 who was harming the home by his irresponsibility and by his capacity as a gang leader of the smaller ones. We were too inexperienced and too little organized to solve the problem within the colony, but we did at least ensure a full discussion and general agreement, including that of Leandro himself, that the best solution was for him to leave.

The first elections for the *mayores* group took place at a general meeting. Proposers had to give reasons in favour of their candidate and there was an opportunity for discussing each individual before the voting took place. On the whole the meeting showed remarkable unanimity and most of the members then elected have remained in the group ever since. Although grown upness is a difficult quality to define, the children seemed to sense what was meant, and immediately accepted the basic fact that people grow up at very different ages. The elections were followed by a preliminary meeting of the group which included two members of the staff (a man and a woman), six boys and two girls, to define privileges and responsibilities. *Mayores* have 3s. pocket money on the assumption that they will make sensible use of it. They are not subject to the fixed bed-time rule which applies to the rest; but again it is assumed that they will



use their common sense and only say up when they have some special reason. As responsible people they can take out books and games from the common stock without getting permission beforehand from the children in charge, though they have to notify them afterwards. On the other hand, any of the *mayores* must be prepared to take full charge of the home at the request of the staff, and, in fact, if the adults all have to go out they can do so without the least anxiety as long as one of the *mayores* is there.

In cases where the council has admitted someone for his or her own good, or from a feeling of shame that one of the seniors in age should still be morally among the babies, the experiment has never worked. One girl of 16, Gabriela, has already had three trials, but although she has many good qualities, and can be extremely helpful in the work of the house, she has had to be disqualified each time before long, although this was always done with reluctance. One of the tests is the ability to withstand criticism. Grownupness in our sense, is an attitude to life. Unlike the old public school code, it involves full freedom of public criticism in council meetings as long as this is done objectively, and the obligation either to admit an accusation or to defend oneself against it. In spite of the friendly and sympathetic atmosphere of the meeting, most of the girls find this embarrassing, and cannot take it impersonally. They are also shy of expressing themselves and do not take a very active part in the discussions, in which most of the boys take an extraordinary interest. The Council meets two or three times a month as required, and has a permanent Chairman, Juan, aged 14, who happens to be almost the youngest member of the group. There is no formal procedure and no minutes are kept, but each member who has something to discuss informs the chairman, who puts it on the agenda. It is significant that most of this agenda is still supplied by the staff, and while the children make most valuable contributions to the ethical and psychological discussions which follow, meetings rely a good deal on the adults' capacity to define the various problems which arise. Let us take one or two typical items:

MARIA (13). 'Enrique does not see why we don't elect him as a *mayor*. He is working hard and says he hasn't done anything bad.'

This Enrique is a very intelligent boy of 14 who came to us a year ago from a foster home where he had been treated with great kindness. He was distinguished from the rest by beautiful manners and complete insincerity. The manners disappeared in time, as they made no impression on anyone, and for some months he reacted in the opposite direction, becoming slovenly, rebellious and idle. The second phase was beginning to wear off and show glimpses of the nice boy Enrique really is, when he had to go into hospital for three months, and now, unfortunately, most of the old false politeness is back again.

A discussion follows in which it is agreed that Enrique is definitely not a *mayor*, that his grounds for seeking admission are proof of this, and that if he were elected experimentally it would only make him more superior and self-righteous than ever.

PEPE (staff member). 'I want to discuss Nestor. We do not seem to be able to do anything for him and he is a nuisance in the colony. How shall we treat him?'

Nestor is a boy of 15, now working in a factory, who has all sorts of neurotic and delinquent symptoms. He appears to be extremely stupid, but has an unexpected aptitude for games of skill, even chess. He has no interests outside himself, and is the only one who still retains an abnormal pre-occupation with food. His constant fidgeting and the compulsion he feels to draw attention to himself by provoking people have made him extremely unpopular, and he frequently boasts of how he expects to be turned out of the colony. He has always said, rather aggressively, that he preferred to be one of the babies.

A long discussion follows, full of genuine desire to solve this difficult problem and not merely to shelve it by proposing to send Nestor away. Pedro (14) suggests psychotherapy (he does not know the word, but that is what he means). Finally Felipe (18) gets to the root of the matter by saying that what Nestor needs, and what they have got to provide, is real friendship, and that however difficult he makes it they will have to persist.

(This case came up some months ago. Immediate results were discouraging, as was to be expected, but there is now a very real change in Nestor, who can almost be treated as a normal person.)

Examples could be multiplied, but these will give an idea of the usual type of business, and of the remarkably sympathetic and enlightened attitude of the children taking part.

### Some Conclusions

In summarising our experience at the Carshalton colony, I would like to stress two or three points. First, the growth of self-government cannot be forced. It must be built up step by step as the children (and in our case, the adults too) are ready for it, and the more damaging the experiences that lie behind them, the more gradually will they have to come to full responsibility. Our own passage was stormy at times, and once we actually had to dissolve the House Committee, abolish all its rules and set up a temporary staff dictatorship, to enable the children to see how much they had gained by the new regime.

Secondly, the group should have as many characteristics as possible of the biological family (somewhat enlarged, of course), including a wide distribution of ages. If the colony is really a home, there are very unlikely to be sexual complications within the group, as the sense of relationship will be too close.

Lastly, although the staff may seem to play a relatively passive part, this is not really the case. Parent substitutes (usually the wardens) are as necessary to the colony as real parents are to the family. They should be permanent if possible, a firm rock in the shifting sea of experience, and the children must be able to rely on their complete backing and their unfailing confidence and affection. Every major development, at least in the early stages, has to come from them, and they must be close enough to the children emotionally to ensure full acceptance. Both the timing and the presentation of new ideas are all-important; interest must never wane, and there must be no discouragement when things go wrong. And, of course, the experiment is never complete, but will go on growing and changing like any living thing, and the later changes are the most exciting because they are likely to come more and more from the children themselves. We can only offer the results of two years' tentative work. The final results spread far into the future and defy measurement.



# Shared Responsibility

W. David Wills

Resident Warden  
Barns House, Peebles, Scotland

**B**ARNS HOUSE is a hostel-school for thirty 'difficult' boys between the ages of 8 and 14. The method known as self-government has been in use there since its opening four years ago; but as the term is apt to give a misleading impression we prefer to call it 'shared responsibility'.

'Shared responsibility' has been used, not because it is an efficient method of governing such an institution as Barns, but because of its therapeutic value with wild, neglected, undisciplined, over-disciplined and 'dis-social' children. Neither is it by any means the primary or the only instrument used in this therapy. Other methods used are outside the scope of this paper, but are mentioned merely because shared responsibility is a corollary of the primary instrument, which is the effort to make the children feel that they are loved.

## Adults who did not Punish

Many of the boys coming to Barns have been brought up in such a way that they look upon authority as an unpleasant and alien thing quite incompatible with affection. It is therefore expedient to put authority in a different setting from that with which they are familiar, and it is made clear that authority at Barns is not vested in the adults, but is shared by adults and children. Not only authority, but the responsibility for many of the things usually organized by those in authority are thus shared.

In this sharing of responsibility three distinct phases can be seen as one looks back through the past four years of the hostel's life—the first one divisible again into two.

When the boys first began to arrive at the hostel, the adults assumed responsibilities which the children expected them to assume—for arranging routine, 'keeping order', and the usual things done by adults, but with an important difference that the boys were not slow to discover. No punishments were inflicted, or even threatened, partly for religious reasons which are perhaps beyond the scope of this paper, and partly because punishment was associated in the

minds of the boys mainly with people who had no affection for them, and as has been said, the aim of the Barns staff was to make the boys feel that they were loved. This was incomprehensible to these boys, who were at first nonplussed by it. For example, about the third day after the hostel opened, when there were as yet only half a dozen boys, five of them 'skipped' school. The sub-warden went in search of them on his cycle, and when he found them they asked him to give them the 'belting' which they presumed to be their due, so that having paid whatever should be paid for a morning's absence, they—and he—could go their several ways. When he explained that they were not going to be 'belted', but that they were expected to return to school forthwith, they were so surprised that they did not realize the full implications and went meekly back. It was not many days, however, before they began to realize that 'non-punishment' was a definite policy, and began to put it to the test.

In the meantime the Warden had begun to consult them about various matters of common interest. As the numbers began to grow he explained that while adults had been appointed to do most of the housework, there were certain jobs which would have to be arranged for, namely, bed-making, dish-washing and potato-peeling. Everyone was invited to a meeting to discuss this and other points. The boys had at first no suggestions to offer, though they had no objection to taking a share in these jobs. When the Warden put forward a tentative scheme, however, one of the boys put forward 'a better idea', which was accepted by the meeting.

## Government by Consent

The Warden then explained why it was undesirable for anyone to climb fences and wander about the property of the neighbours, which all present agreed not to do. This was the beginning of the 'House-meeting', which then met every week to discuss such matters as those mentioned, to arrange concerts and parties, to arrange for the care of games, and so forth. (The

man in charge of the school work at this time was not entirely in sympathy with these methods, and being responsible to an outside authority, insisted on running the school on more orthodox lines. While, however, it was fairly easy for the House-meeting to make regulations, it was not so easy to see that those regulations were carried out, and the discussion of breaches of the rules soon began to occupy the greater part of the meetings. There were protracted discussions about boys who 'dodged' their orderly duties, who wandered on to neighbours' property (sometimes damaging crops), and so forth. There were discussions too about actions not specifically legislated against, but by common consent regarded as undesirable—such as stealing and bullying. After a while a Committee consisting of one boy from each dormitory (five in all) and one adult was appointed to meet each day and 'hear charges'. The method of dealing with offences was almost entirely non-punitive, partly no doubt because of the attitude of the adults, but partly also because the boys were themselves reluctant to inflict punishments. There was often an attempt to prevent a recurrence of the offence by some fresh legislation in suitable circumstances, then would be compensation or restitution for the offended party. Boys who continually abused their freedom had it restricted by being put on 'close bounds'—which meant that they were not allowed outside the precincts of the hostel for a certain period.

During the first three or four months things were fairly chaotic while small contingents of fresh arrivals were finding their feet. Their natural reaction to non-punishment was to assume that 'you can do as you like', and this was severely tested. Adults would be abused and assaulted, crockery would be dashed on to stone floors, stones thrown at windows, and so on. But while the adults—so far as humanly possible—refrained from violent reaction, at the same time some boys began to express disapproval of this sort of behaviour. After four months, during which



behaviour had apparently been getting progressively worse, there was a quite sudden and enormous improvement. Violent testing of the régime became a rare instead of a frequent occurrence, and the community settled down to a more or less orderly existence—though still by no means as orderly as it would be under a more orthodox kind of discipline. This was the second part of the first phase (the first having been the four months of extreme disorder). It continued for about a year. The House-meeting—which was attended by all the adults as well as the children—made the rules and the Committee dealt with any breaches of those rules, but, by and large, it was the adults who reported those breaches—the adults remained, as it were, policemen. Responsibility was shared, but the share taken by the children was a very small one. It was a democratic system, but very ‘adult-ridden’. However, an elaborate system was built up which was not by any means entirely the work of the adults, and which contained many interesting and useful features, one of which, the institution of ‘Freemen of Barns’, remains to this day. A Freeman is one who is considered by the House-meeting a fit person to go about without supervision, and the list is revised every week. An ‘unfree’ man may only leave the precincts of the hostel in the company of an adult. An ‘unfree’ man who was difficult in spite of this restriction of his movements might be put on close bounds, or he might be given a ‘keeper’—that is, he would be obliged to keep company with another boy whose duty it was to see that he kept out of trouble. That institution has also been retained.

### Government by Dictatorship

After about a year, then, a remarkable change was effected. Certain boys—with very mixed motives—brought to the House-meeting a proposition that ‘Barns be started all over again’. Whatever reasons the proposers may have had for this suggestion, it was certainly an excellent one, because many of the boys then at Barns had not been there at the beginning, and had not enjoyed the experience of building up a system of government; the system that had been built up was getting ‘top-heavy’ with rules and prohibitions, and

many boys only dimly understood it. The proposition was carried with acclamation—and the boys all rushed out of the room. It was, presumably, taken for granted by the boys that the second ‘starting’ of Barns would be as mild and benignant as the first. The Warden, however, quickly disabused them of this idea. He told them at breakfast the next morning that they had abandoned the excellent system of Government they had so laboriously built up and had been so irresponsible as to ‘do so without making any arrangements for setting up another. He himself was regarded by the neighbours and by the Government authorities as responsible for the good behaviour of the boys, and, while he was prepared to share that responsibility with them, he was not prepared to abandon it, even though they apparently were. They had assumed that they were to enjoy the same measure of liberty as had been enjoyed by the few boys who were present at the beginning of Barns. But this time the Warden proposed to ‘start’—since the starting was apparently left to him—in the same sort of way as an orthodox person would start such a place. Instead of liberty for all, there would be liberty for none until they proved themselves unlikely to abuse it; and the Warden proposed to be the usual kind of adult dictator. He would make all the rules, and he would certainly see that they were enforced. There would be a little *discipline*. He departed, however, from the general run of dictators in one particular—he was willing to hand over his authority to any democratically constituted body which was prepared to carry on the government of the House. He then issued a few fiats—read out an orderly list, announced that no meals would be served to boys coming in late, and so on.

For a week a thoroughly unpleasant time was had by all, and everything went like clockwork. Then one of the boys called a meeting of ‘All those who want to put an end to the dictatorship’. About half the boys attended. It was a noisy, even a riotous, meeting, from which the newly-elected chairman had to eject several boys. The Warden attended for a few minutes to explain that he, too, wanted to end the dictatorship, but that he would hand over only to a

serious assembly which would arrange for the whole routine instead of (as hitherto) leaving most of it to the adults, and which would elaborate machinery for seeing that offenders were brought to justice instead of expecting the staff to be policemen. He added that as in his view too much notice had been taken of the opinions of adults at House-meetings, he proposed to withdraw, but was willing to be called in to advise on any specific point. He was called in two or three times about minor points only, and the Citizen’s Association was born.

### Government by Boy Officers

The Citizen’s Association, which became a landmark in the history of Barns, is the second of the three phases referred to. Its membership was restricted to those who were prepared to ‘work for Barns’. Every member had to take his turn as ‘officer on duty’. This official (there were two of them each day) was responsible for the supervision of the entire routine of the House, from getting the boys up in the morning to ‘lights out’ at night. The officers of the Association (Chairman, Secretary, etc.) formed a Committee, meeting daily to hear charges. The Chairman of the Association took charge of the Dining Room, ringing the bell for Grace, etc. All members of the Association were ‘freemen’, and any who failed to ‘work for Barns’, or who behaved in such a way as might harm the community were immediately expelled. Membership was eagerly sought for and jealously guarded. After the initial institution of the Association applicants for membership had to be sponsored by a Citizen, and approved by the majority of the Association.

In one bound the boys had accepted real responsibility, and there was born in their minds an entirely new conception of the share they might take in running Barns. It should perhaps be said that this ability to take responsibility was not present when the boys first came to Barns, but only came to fruition when they had achieved that fundamental sense of security which comes from the assurance of being loved. It is doubtful whether any such system can be successfully used in any institution where this is not held as the first aim, and that is the reason why ‘shared responsibility’ was earlier described as a corollary



# 1884

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of the *first* aim of providing security through the knowledge of affection.

Within a week there was rebellion in the schoolroom. This department of the life of the place had been sealed off from the rest of the community's activities by the refusal of the schoolmaster to participate in 'shared responsibility'. The atmosphere of the schoolroom was perhaps less formal than most, but there was much shouting, some 'belting', and a good deal of unofficial punishment. Some of the older boys now began to resent this, because they saw how it was possible to manage without these things in the house, and their enthusiasm for the new régime made them the more resentful of the old. They said nothing of this to anyone, however, and it did not begin to be apparent until they began to play truant from school. Even then the adults were at a loss to understand why the very boys who had done so much to establish the Citizen's Association now played truant. When spoken to about this they explained that they were rebelling against Mr. —, the schoolmaster. They were told that inasmuch as the responsibility for getting a child to school rests with

his parents, they were rebelling against the House, and thus against themselves. After this they ceased truancing, but after arriving at school asked to 'leave the room' and did not return or, remaining in school, made things extremely difficult for the schoolmaster.

So difficult did things become that at length the schoolmaster came to the Warden for advice. The Warden said he had no doubt that the troubles the schoolmaster was experiencing were directly attributable to the new régime in the House, and was ready with a plan to suggest. Some six months or so previously Mr. Benjamin Stoddard had been appointed, to divide his time between teaching and helping in the House outside school hours. It was suggested that, as he was willing to make the experiment, the older boys should be taught entirely by him (which, as he was only a part-time teacher, would involve leaving them for long stretches entirely 'on their own') and the responsibility for the discipline of this group should rest with the Citizen's Association. This was done, and although, as may be imagined, there were innumerable difficulties and false steps, the

experiment amply justified itself. Within a year from these events the schoolmaster had left, and Mr. Stoddard was appointed in his place. There is much, of course, that is regrettable about the unconstitutional methods adopted by the boys to express their disapproval of the régime of the school, but it must be said in their defence that after all there was very little opportunity, as the school was then conducted, for any other kind. And certainly it represented, in however undesirable a manifestation, an admirable spirit, directed towards a constructive end. It need hardly be said that there was no encouragement from the adults to be 'difficult' with the schoolmaster, though, with the best will in the world, they could not avoid feeling sympathetic. And nothing here is to be taken as a reflection upon the schoolmaster, who was a normally competent teacher placed in the wrong environment.

### Parliamentary Government

The first phase was one of settling down and learning the ropes while acquiring a sense of security, and then running things



with a great deal of adult influence at work. The second, which lasted about eight or nine months, was one in which the widest responsibilities were accepted, and accepted with such vigour and realism that they changed the character of the establishment. The third, and final phase, remains to be dealt with.

It can be dealt with very briefly. In Phase One responsibility was not fully accepted. In Phase Two, too much responsibility was accepted. Phase Three was a compromise between the two. When, after some months, the Citizen's Association began to experience difficulties—due mainly to the lack of adult advice—another 'fresh start' was suggested.

The new system then adopted was on the lines of the Government in Great Britain. The community meets weekly in the General Meeting, corresponding to the House of Commons, its business being to make such fresh legislation as may be necessary, and to hear and criticise the reports of the various Ministers. The Prime Minister is elected by the General Meeting and chooses his own Ministers. The

constitution of the Cabinet has varied from time to time, but in general there is a Minister for each aspect of the life of the Community. Some Ministers have 'helpers' corresponding to the Citizen's Association's Officers on Duty, and only boys who are helping in some way can qualify as Freemen. Although all are entitled to attend General Meeting, only Freemen are allowed to vote. Ministers, as well as the Chairman and Secretary of the General Meeting, are paid 'salaries' up to sixpence a week, derived from 'Taxation', which it is one of the functions of the Minister of Money to collect.

It will be seen that within this system adults can make themselves more or less felt as circumstances seem to warrant. Sometimes an adult will accept office in the Government, occasionally even as Prime Minister, but more often all the posts are held by boys, and adults confine themselves to question and criticism at the General Meeting. This system has been working very happily for about eighteen months, with very frequent changes of Government—it is un-

usual for a Prime Minister to last more than a month. While it is not thought—or regarded as desirable—that this particular system should last for ever, it does seem to provide just the right balance of responsibility between adults and children.

One other thing remains to be said. It has never been suggested that *everything* is subject to the control of the General Meeting. There are some responsibilities which the adults must retain, principally those concerning the health of the children. On such questions as these no specious attempts are made to 'get the children to agree'. Reasons are, of course, given for any rules that have to be imposed, but those rules must be kept whether they happen to be acceptable to the children or not. These concern such things as bed-times, river bathing, and so on, and there has never been much difficulty in enforcing them. Indeed the word enforcement gives quite the wrong impression, for the attitude of the children to rules, whether made by themselves or not, has come to be one of happy co-operation.

## Educational Change and Teacher Training

David Jordan

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IT would be a pity if the administrative changes outlined as Schemes A and B in the McNair Report, which will undoubtedly be a centre of controversy among those concerned with the training of teachers, tended to divert attention from the many stimulating suggestions contained in the Report about the actual work of teacher training. Granted that the framework should be changed to give us colleges of the optimum size for providing a variety of courses, a measure of fluidity during the training course, experience of co-education, and a vital and democratic form of student life, we still have to think out new approaches in the training courses to correspond with the reforms which we hope to introduce into the educational system as a whole.

The McNair Report reflects the general trend of progressive opinion in its refusal to approach the problem of training from the narrow viewpoint of preparation for examinations. It specifically states that a modification of curricula and

syllabuses' alone will not 'ensure that teachers have the chance to enjoy a period of education and training which above all else, will encourage them to live a full life,' and urges that the best preparation is a course of study and activity which will result in a balanced development of mind and body, and the recognition that the close of the training period marks the end of a phase of experience and not the completion of the students' education. This must mean that during the training period the student should be considered as a developing young person, who is making important adjustments both within his immediate environment and in his relation to society and the universe. He enters college 'in standing water 'twixt boy and man', and should leave it well on the way towards the full stature of adulthood. The final stage in this transition must take place outside the training period, but its successful completion will depend upon the nature and quality of his college experience no less than upon

his personal and professional experiences during his early years as a teacher.

In considering therefore the personal, social and religious needs of the student we should stress that he should be partially responsible for the choice and direction of his own work; that he should be free to take part in social life outside the college and to organize it within; and to discover for himself, without obtrusive assistance, his own place in the universal scheme of things.

### The Teachers we need

It is difficult to make a distinction between the professional training and the general education of a student without introducing a measure of artificiality into the discussion. In final terms college life and experience must be thought of as a unified whole, which contributes to the personality of the student much more than can be measured by adding up the parts. Nevertheless, for purposes of analysis, it seems profitable to distinguish



between the skills and attitudes which are particularly applicable to the teachers' task in the classroom, and the qualities of mind and character which determine the value of a person in all his human contacts. The former may properly be regarded as falling within the scope of professional training; the latter as being mainly derived from the students' personal education, to which his academic studies and his social life in college each contribute.

What are the skills, attitudes and personal qualities most desirable in a student at the end of his college course? He must have a measure of technical competence in handling groups of children, some appreciation of children's difficulties at different stages, and a sympathetic attitude to those who labour under innate defects. This would involve some understanding of the nature of backwardness, even though competence to undertake remedial treatment could not be expected. He should have a sound knowledge of the subject matter which he is to teach and be able to see its relation to a wider background and to think in terms other than those of arbitrary subject divisions; and he should have the capacity to present the material of instruction in a clearly understandable and stimulating form, together with experience in handling the new visual and auditory media made available by the development of the cinema, the epidiascope, the symbolization of statistics, and the wireless and television set.

So far we have listed some essential skills and attitudes which may be developed as a result of his professional training. But an educator is something more than an instructor, and the value of his contact with his pupils will depend very largely upon his personal qualities and the attitude to life which he expresses in the daily conduct of his work. He should be capable of taking an objective view of himself in his individual and social relationships; should possess courage, tact and a sense of responsibility; a knowledge of and willingness to exercise his democratic rights in society, a clear conception of the meaning of membership of a social group working as a democratic community and the experimental attitude to life which implies a willingness to

accept progressive change. A person not entirely dependent upon external stimuli for his contentment, but possessing some inner resources fostered by an experience of the Arts, Science and Philosophy. This would include a capacity to appreciate beauty in its many and varied forms—in Art, Sculpture, Drama, Literature, Architecture, and in human relations—and a desire to seek for truth in objective fact, in accurate statement, and in the perception of the 'relatedness of related things'. Such qualities do not result from the mere acquisition of knowledge; time must also be given for its assimilation. As the McNair Report well says: 'An essential element in education at this stage is a reasonable amount of leisure and a personal choice in the use of it. Many students in training colleges do not mature by living, they survive by hurrying.' Such an atmosphere may provide efficient instruction, it cannot produce effective educators of the type we now need.

### **Teachers for the New Post-Primary Schools**

Perhaps the most striking change to be brought about by the Education Act is the extension of secondary education to all post primary children. It will mean a large increase in the number of children in school from 14 to 16 years of age; a considerable extension of technical education, though not necessarily in its familiar form; in some areas the institution of large Multilateral Schools, and in most areas the building of a number of new Modern Schools. It is obvious that any attempt to extend the School Certificate type of course to all post-primary children would be educationally disastrous and would be doomed to failure from the outset. Some well-equipped and progressive Senior Schools have already shown what can be done in an examination-free school which adopts a realistic and practical rather than an academic approach to post-primary education. What is needed, therefore, is an extension of this type of approach in the better conditions which the Act will provide, and the training of a large number of teachers to render service in schools which will ask for something in between the extreme specialization of existing Grammar Schools and the extreme

versatility now demanded in Junior Schools.

Another factor to be kept in mind is the need to prevent the segregation of teachers in one type of department or school. Greater mobility within the teaching profession, particularly with the opportunity for periodic refresher courses would assist the teacher to retain the freshness of mind and experimental outlook which is necessary if teaching is not to degenerate into a dull and lifeless routine of uninspired instruction. Complete mobility between all grades of teaching is obviously impracticable, but at the post-primary level we should certainly aim at a training course designed to fit students to teach in Modern Schools, and in the lower forms of Grammar and Technical Schools, or in the corresponding streams in a multilateral school. It is doubtful if the normal degree course in Arts or Science, not specifically drawn up to meet the needs of such teachers, is the best kind of preparation for such work, and it is to be hoped that in the coming revision of teachers' salaries undue weight will not be given to the possession of a University Degree, in comparison with other recognized qualifications. Given a three year course for all teachers, as suggested in the McNair Report, it would seem possible to devise a scheme of training suitable for all who are to teach in the age range from 11 to 16 years. Certain parts of the course might also be suitable as a refresher course for teachers wishing to transfer from primary to post-primary work, and for persons engaged in or about to engage in various forms of youth service.

At the August 1944 conference of the English New Education Fellowship a group of members discussed in detail the problem of training teachers for post-primary Schools and drew up the following **three year course** as likely to meet the needs enumerated above. Such a suggestion can only be in the nature of a ground plan, but it was felt necessary to think in terms of a complete course rather than merely to make suggestions for additions to existing courses which, on grounds of time alone, might be impracticable. The group consisted of some twenty-five persons engaged in varied types of educational work, and agreement on this outline



scheme was unanimous. Assuming a three-term year the complete course would be :

- 3 Terms Common Professional Core Course
- 2 Terms Post-Primary Course
- 1 Term Continuous Teaching Practice
- 3 Terms Specialization Course

The allocation of time, apart from the term of continuous teaching practice, within the three years would depend upon the internal arrangements of particular colleges ; it is not intended that the separate courses should necessarily be taken in solid blocks ; for example, the Specialization Course and the Common Post-Primary Course might well be taken concurrently. We have in mind also that many colleges broaden the contacts and experience of their students by lecture-discussions from probation officers, magistrates, youth club leaders, education officers, medical officers, psychiatrists, social welfare workers, teachers from experimental schools, research workers, etc. We assume that within our scheme such work would be extended and systematized.

### The Common Professional Core

In dealing with Professional Subjects the McNair Report speaks of 'the essential requirements of all teachers' (para. 209). It should be possible to institute a common professional core which would be applicable as a basic minimum to all the varying courses by which a person may become a qualified teacher, i.e. two or three year training courses, post graduate courses, or emergency courses for entrants from commerce, industry or various forms of national service. Such a course should include

1. *The Study of Child Development* and the observation of behaviour in differing environments—that is, it should include contact with home and neighbourhood and not merely the special type of behaviour to be observed in schools. Case Study of individual children should be an integral part of the work.
2. *The Study of Society*, which must include the study of a local community, its historical growth and existing economic and social organization. Students should have the 'discipline of accurate observations of social conditions', should be encouraged 'to take an active part in social and educational work

outside the walls of the college', and should have the experience of democratic living in the training institution. We feel this should be stressed because of the undemocratic nature of the organization of some schools or colleges, and the consequent unwillingness of many teachers to accept democratic opportunities when they are offered to them.

3. *English Language*, particularly with reference to the accurate formulation of thought, the perception of fallacies, the development of a capacity for discussion, and what the McNair Report describes as 'clear and pleasant speech'.

4. *Physical Education and Health Education*—to include the development of the student's own physique, a knowledge of the physical development of children at different ages, some acquaintance with the methods of dealing with handicapped children, and contact with the health services both inside and outside the school.

5. *Practical Experience and Principles of Education*, to include some acquaintance with the great classical writers on education, a knowledge of the development and existing structure of English education ; and of the nature of educational processes and their application in schools of varying types.

In addition to the common professional core of studies teachers of children above the Junior stage should spend the equivalent of two terms on a Post-Primary course, particularly framed to prepare for work in Modern Schools and the lower forms of Technical and Grammar Schools, that is, for teaching pupils from 11 to 16 years of age, many of whom may be at first recalcitrant to further schooling. Teachers in other types of schools would take a similar course applicable to the age range they were preparing to teach.

**Post-Primary Course**— 1. *The Study of Human Behaviour*, particularly of adolescents and adults, to include the study and practice of methods of arriving at decisions by democratic means ; i.e. Debate, Discussion Groups, the Forum, Brain Trusts, Round Table Conference, etc. Considerable use should be made of films and literature as a basis for the discussion of human motivation both in individual and social relationships and of ways of achieving a satisfactory technique of living.

2. *Backwardness in the Basic Subjects*, a study which will be vitally important for teachers of the

lower ranges of intelligence and should include an understanding of environmental, emotional, and physical causes of backwardness.

3. *New Techniques of Teaching and Learning* applicable to the post-primary stage. In particular methods of using the cinema, broadcast talks, plays, etc. ; the epidiascope and micro-projector ; illustrated group studies with symbolic statistics, maps, and charts.

4. *One of the groups of subjects* from the Specialization Course (given below) other than the group chosen for specialization. This would be regarded from the point of view of the personal education of the student, the method of approach would be adapted accordingly, and the subject not pursued to the specialization level.

The majority of teachers at the post-primary stage are already specialists in a particular subject, or group of allied subjects. If fluidity between the staffs of Modern Schools and Grammar and Technical Schools is to be achieved the student who qualifies by means of a three year non-degree course must achieve a sound academic standard within his field of specialization. The McNair Report says that 'the course of every student should be planned so that he has the experience of doing at least one thing as well as he can do it, and of being fully extended 'thereby' (para. 202). For these reasons the equivalent of three terms should be devoted to the **Specialization Course, for which** it is suggested that a choice should be made from one of the following groups :

1. Music and Rhythmic Expression
2. Art and Craft
3. Literature, Drama and Speech Training
4. Physical Training, Health Education and Biological Science
5. Social Studies (History, Geography, Civics and Elementary Economics)
6. Commercial Subjects (Shorthand, Typewriting, Book-keeping Economics)
7. Mathematics (including some statistical Method) and either
  - (a) Science with particular reference to Industry ; or
  - (b) Science with particular reference to Agriculture (including gardening).

During his course therefore a student would undertake the specialized study of **one** of these groups, and would pursue the study of another group to a more elementary level. Considerations of space



prevent any detailed consideration of the content of these groups of subjects, but in every case stress must be laid on the significance of the study as a basis for understanding the life and environment of our own times. Only by such practical applications can the subjects be made real to the large majority of children who will be found in our new secondary schools.

This outline is offered in the belief

that the next stage in educational advance must be that of curriculum planning, and that new departures can scarcely be expected in the schools unless they are foreshadowed in our teacher training courses. This is particularly true of the new post-primary schools, which must at all costs be prevented from attempting to achieve the social status of the existing Grammar Schools by applying their con-

ceptions of curricula and methods of instruction to groups of children with whom they would be foredoomed to failure. In these schools in particular freedom from external examination should be regarded as an opportunity and a challenge to the professional zeal and competence of all who teach in them. The training colleges must give them the tools, the new teachers themselves must finish the job.

## Book Review

**Our Two Democracies at Work.** K. B. Smellie. pp. 63. (Harrap & Co. 6/-).

This is the second of a series of books on America and England, edited by P. Sargant Florence. It gives a clear and concise account of the structure of government in the two democracies, with a sufficient treatment of the historical background to make it intelligible, and an abundance of illuminating generalisation to make it interesting.

Of ourselves Mr. Smellie says, 'The Englishman knows that the position where he now finds himself is very intricate indeed. His standard of life is the result of his country's early leadership in the industrial revolution of the early nineteenth century, his religious and political liberties are the hard won privileges of an island population sheltered from the more formidable threats to liberty which have always moved across the face of Europe. His divisions have been divisions of interpretation which could be composed and divisions of interest which could be balanced.'

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On the influence of the frontier in the U.S.A. he says: 'There was no need to rebel when freedom could be reached in a covered waggon. The mobility of the population meant that the State lines never hardened into national frontiers . . . Nowhere in the world has such a unity of manner and conventions been established so swiftly over so wide an area and in the lives of so many people. Without the influence of a dynasty, or the creed of a revolutionary party, a continent has been given in a single century the cultural unity of China.' The new situation is summed up with an admirable economy of words; 'Britain has always been a harbour in which freedom could refit. In the United States the dream of Europe's greatest men—for toleration, peace, and plenty, for liberty, equality and fraternity, has been given the breath of life in common men. There men could really return to nature. The Western pioneer could in the nineteenth century take every right of man for granted. In Britain there has always been some nook and cranny or coign of vantage for the odd and daring; in the United States there has always been some further province of a new world for the common man to occupy. But it must be remembered that for Britain time is no longer on her side, and that for the United States no part of her world is now new.'

The book is attractively produced and makes an appeal to the eye through thirty-three photographs contrasted with a touch of the 'Lilliput' technique, and nineteen Isotype charts in colour. The latter seem to vary in value, and we are left wondering whether predetermining the technique of presentation in terms of 'certain standard internationally understood symbols' is always the best method of placing visual aids at the service of understanding, or whether the nature of the material should not be freer to dictate the type of visual presentation. Such reflections, however, do not detract from the value of this timely and attractively written book which we trust will meet with the success it deserves.

David Jordan

[Other reviews have had to be held over for lack of space, including one of

'*Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education*' by Dr. P. Rossello (Evans Bros. 2s. 6d.)—Ed.].



## Teach children **KERB DRILL**

*See that they always do it  
and set a good example  
by doing it yourself.*



1. At the kerb **HALT**
2. **EYES RIGHT**
3. **EYES LEFT**
- then if the road is clear*
4. **QUICK MARCH**

*Don't rush  
Cross in an orderly manner.*



# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Bulletin No. 20

September-October 1944

## THE TEACHER IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE McNAIR REPORT

A CONFERENCE on the above subject was held under the auspices of the E.N.E.F. from August 3rd to the 10th, 1944, at St. Mary's College, Bangor; the McNair Report was the basis of the conference discussions.

The Chairman, Miss Catherine Fletcher, opened the Conference by warmly commending the McNair Report as being an outstanding contribution to educational reconstruction. It was one more step towards real democracy here, and towards establishing the rights of common men everywhere; for the problems facing the people in this country were in fact problems common to humanity. The needs of the new society could only be satisfied by our awareness of the necessity for mass-education in England as in Turkey, China, Russia, America, the Colonies, and elsewhere.

The tasks in this country were not now those of 1870, merely to make the masses literate; it was necessary to provide a wide education for the community. The needs were complex, for all must learn to play full social rôles in their regions and neighbourhoods. Teachers would thus have the responsibility of contributing to the development of much real democracy in our complex industrial society.

The Education Act brought a change in the structure of the educational system, one forty years overdue. The distinction between 'elementary' and 'secondary' was now going, as was the 'trail of cheapness'; fees were largely being abolished. The Act envisaged education as one whole in which there were three progressive stages—primary, secondary and further; the influence this reform would have on the future conditions and prestige of teachers and teacher-training was incalculable. No longer was it sufficient to give teachers a few 'tricks of the trade' and to make them, as Kay Shuttleworth suggested, 'humble, industrious and instructed'; they needed a new philosophy, a new conception of rights and privileges, a new social awareness. So equipped they

could become a spearhead of social and educational reform, and a dynamic influence for good in our changing society.

After the opening address, the Conference divided into five groups for discussion, the groups giving their findings each day to a full meeting of the conference. The following report was prepared from these findings, and, while in draft, was presented to and accepted by the whole conference at the final session. The headings are those used in the McNair Report.

## CONFERENCE REPORT

### Recruitment

General agreement with the recommendations of the Report was expressed, conference adding:

Maintenance grants should be adequate to relieve students of economic anxiety.

Parents and others should have ample opportunity for learning about the educational system, including its history and development, and of discussing the function of education in a community; parent-teacher associations would be excellent vehicles for this, while Careers Masters or Mistresses should be responsible for giving full information on the teaching profession to the older pupils in every secondary school (§ 66).

Each L.E.A. should set up and finance an Intelligence and Public Relations Committee which should include parents, teachers and an educational administrator, as well as representatives of the Education Committee; its functions would be to organize a local educational advice and publicity service.

Intelligence and Public Relations Departments of the Ministry should supply L.E.A.'s with information for lectures and with suitable leaflets and pamphlets setting out the opportunities and conditions of service of the various branches of the teaching profession.

§ 84 was strongly commended; 'One of the major educational reforms required from the point of view of the recruitment of teachers alone is a reduction in the size of classes.' It was specially emphas-

ized that improved recruiting depended upon general educational reform; war conditions were a serious deterrent.

### Conditions of Service

Stress was laid on the need for widening the scope of the teacher's personal life. Teachers should take a full part in civic affairs; a new attitude should be adopted towards their rôle in the community. To facilitate this a generous staffing ratio (fixed by the Ministry, not the L.E.A.) should be established.

§ 88 was warmly endorsed; it was agreed that there should be no prying into the private conduct of teachers nor into their political activities outside the school, and no veiled control over these.

Mobility of teachers within the profession was most desirable to give the variety of experience obtainable by working in different areas and types of school. The establishment of the basic scale would facilitate this, the more so if increments were paid by a central authority instead of the L.E.A.

Full support was given to the proposals for encouraging women teachers to remain members of the profession after marriage (§ 92), and to the statement which suggests the opening of the profession to married women who have not previously taught (§ 77). The provision for sabbatical terms for teachers (§§ 98 and 99), with full safeguards for pensions, increments, etc., was strongly commended.

### Salaries

The principles on which salary scales should be based, excellently set out in § 114, were fully endorsed, as were the recommendations for substantial increases in salaries (§§ 118 and 154), for allowances for posts of special responsibility being larger and more widely distributed, provided that these were democratically determined and reviewed from time to time (§ 141) and for the recognition of only one grade of qualified teacher (§ 148). The basic salary scale in particular (§ 139) was commended as the means of eliminating the economic, and therefore social, gulf between



'elementary' and 'secondary' work, the tying of salary to one or other of these types of school and the various scales within them.

The Conference was also of the opinion that there should be no differentiation in salary on the basis of the age of the pupils taught nor on account of examinations for which pupils might be preparing, and that part-time teachers and lecturers in schools and training institutions should be on recognized salary scales.

The principle of equal pay and opportunity for men and women teachers was expressed and unanimously supported, family allowances being regarded as a prerequisite.

### Organization of Training

Conference was unanimous in its support of a Central Training Council. Of the two schemes (designated Schemes A and B), the former, 'University Schools of Education', was strongly commended as providing a structure for teacher-training adequate to secure the whole purpose of the Education Act. It was emphasised that an essential function of the University Schools would be to promote research in education (§ 177i), a very pressing need in view of the backwardness of the country in this respect: individual training colleges had done much valuable experimental work in environmental and child study, but this had been unco-ordinated; the co-operation envisaged between training colleges and Universities could bring the research to fruition. Conference commended the statement that 'the study of education, its theory and practice, is one of the proper functions of Universities' (§ 180), and, noting that the Universities had already undertaken vocational training for the Church, medicine, engineering and agriculture, expressed the opinion that education had claims stronger than any of these, for it was concerned with the handing on of our whole cultural heritage.

Scheme B received virtually no support; Conference believed that it would perpetuate existing anomalies and, though it gave the appearance of progress, would not bring the reality. The 'small executive committees' and 'regional officers' (§ 189c) would be far less democratic in operation than the University Schools, while the machinery

envisaged for the development of the Joint Boards was inadequate to fit them to undertake either the organization of an integrated system of teacher training to implement the provisions of the Act, or the co-ordination and stimulation of research. Again, under Scheme B, the present cleavage between graduate and non-graduate teachers would remain.

The conclusion of the Conference was that Scheme B should be entirely rejected and that Scheme A should be supported as much more likely to effect the co-ordination and publication of research, to give all teachers a wider cultural background through direct contact with the Universities and to unify, and raise the status of, the whole profession. As a corollary it was suggested that, after a period of time and in the light of experience, it would be possible for the Schools of Education to provide a means by which teachers of all kinds could obtain a formal qualification through their normal course of training which should be the equivalent of a degree.

Complete agreement was expressed with the sponsors of Scheme A in rejecting as an alternative proposal a centralized administration under the Ministry of Education.

### Staffing of Training Colleges

Conference urged that the staffs of training colleges should be large enough to make full use of tutorial and seminar methods of teaching, and that members of staff should know how to use these to the best advantage of students.

It was recommended that in future every person proposing to take up full-time work in a training institution should follow an approved course in the training of teachers and that such a course should be offered by some of the Schools of Education though not necessarily by all.

The Conference gave strong support to the recommendations for secondment of teachers from schools to training institutions (§ 277). It was stressed, however, that secondment should be on a voluntary basis so far as the teachers were concerned, that their professional interests (e.g. regarding promotion and pensions) should be safeguarded and that the selection of teachers for secondment should not be left to the L.E.A's alone, but should be

a matter for consultation between the training institutions, the Local Authorities and H.M.I's. Part-time secondment was also considered desirable, such as that of specially skilled practising teachers for short periods, e.g. a session per week or a month per year. In addition it was recommended that training college lecturers should be seconded to schools or County Colleges for at least a term in every five years, to enable them to keep in close contact with work in the schools.

### Education of Intending Teachers

It was appreciated that the education of the teacher in a training institution was inseparable from education in school or from the immediate post-training years. It was felt strongly that young people intending to be teachers should devote their full time to educational pursuits, and not be expected to undertake remunerative employment whether this was regarded as vocational preparation or not. In this connection attention was drawn to § 485: 'we believe that boys and girls who intend to be teachers should receive if possible full-time education up to about 18 years, undisturbed by outside obligations'; this was shown to be incompatible with § 74 where it was stated that for some children 'employment combined with a carefully planned course of part-time education up to 19 or 20 may be better'.

The education of the young person should be in close contact with the realities of the modern world and give full scope for wide experience in holiday and agricultural work camps, youth clubs and other forms of community life and public service. The multi-lateral school was thought to be the best means of securing preparation for the later, more specialized training; in the meantime a good modern or technical school, with provision for diversity of aptitude and continued education to eighteen would provide a good alternative to the grammar school. Such schooling would facilitate that education through 'varied personal experience' advocated in the Report (§ 7) and strongly commended by the Conference.

In the training institutions self-government was strongly commended (§ 255) as giving students that understanding of democratic



procedure which would prepare and encourage them to take civic and public responsibility. They should be helped to realize something of the economic and political forces at work in our rapidly changing society; they should be trained not only for the schools of to-day, but for those of tomorrow, and they should be inspired to become the pioneers of a new social era.

## Content of Training

It was suggested that there should be a core curriculum for all teachers, together with specific training for various types of work, as well as full opportunity for personal development.

## The Core Curriculum

*Child Development.* It was considered that too much attention had been given to theoretical psychology and that an introduction to the body of empirical knowledge of child development now available, covering the intellectual, social, emotional and physical development of normal children, was preferable. While a detailed study of the pathological side was not advocated, the young teacher should be helped to distinguish normality from abnormality, and learn when to seek expert advice and where this is generally available. A sound understanding of the treatment of backward children was considered essential.

*Social Studies.* It was felt that the McNair Report emphasized insufficiently the value of social studies; in comparison reference was made to the Colonial Office pamphlet, 'Mass Education in African Society', where the value of a sociological approach was stressed: 'The direction and control of all teachers must be in the hands of individuals . . . who are determined to give to all their work a sociological character'. Conference, in line with this opinion, urged the necessity of a new approach to scientific, economic, historical and geographical material, an approach which should stress the interdependence of those fields of knowledge and include an investigation of the student's own neighbourhood and its community. It was also suggested that the observation and historical development of the educational system and allied services should be regarded as part of the Social Studies Course.

*English Language and Speech.* Conference commended the analysis and recommendations of the McNair Report under this heading (§§ 209-214); it was agreed that language

and speech was every teacher's concern and that: 'every student should be trained to acquire a sufficient mastery of his own language to enable him to use it as an effective instrument for his own education and for that of his future pupils.'

*Health Education: including Physical Education.* Conference expressed the opinion that physical education should be liberally interpreted and should include dancing, swimming and sports generally, as well as games; participation in such activities would contribute considerably to the student's own health and to the building up of health habits. In addition every student should learn the elements of human physiology, including that of sexual functioning and reproduction, and have an outline knowledge of the factors essential for health in children, with information adequate for the detection of infectious diseases in their early stages.

*Practical Experience.* Conference commended the Report in stressing the relation of principles of education to practice (§ 223) and added that there should be frequent contact with children in homes, play centres, youth clubs, camps, etc., as well as in the classroom.

## Specific Education for Nursery-Infant, Junior and Secondary Teachers

Conference was agreed that specialization of study and specific training for teaching children at the various stages of school life should emerge from the common professional core already outlined and emphasized that during the training period there should be no unnecessary segregation of the sexes nor of intending nursery-infant, junior and secondary teachers.

The following suggestions were made regarding the content of the specific training:

*Nursery-Infant.* A detailed study of the biological, social, intellectual and emotional needs of children from two to seven or eight years, with a special study of the nutrition and hygiene of this stage of growth.

A study of children's homes and personal experience of them, an appreciation of the significance of the family for the child, elementary training in informal adult education for use in helping parents to understand the needs of children.

A study of the varied play materials needed by, and suitable for, young children and the constructive use of these.

Education of the student in

music, dancing, art, verse speaking and narrative and an understanding of the development of these creative activities in young children.

Close contact with children and observation of them; for this a nursery-infant school, developed on creative lines, should be attached to all institutions giving this training. It was clear that this work required constant relationship between college tutors, students and teachers in the schools, and that this had an important bearing on the recommendations for a continuous term's practice (this matter is referred to below).

*Junior.* A detailed study of the biological, social, intellectual and emotional needs of children from about seven or eight to puberty.

Techniques for the educating of children in an understanding of their social environment. This would involve an introduction to simple scientific, mathematical, historical and geographical material in terms of the Junior's purposive activities; there was need for much experiment in this aspect of the curriculum.

The cultivation of sensitivity to creative work in dramatic activities, narrative, verse and poetry, music, dancing, art and craft, and a realization of its value, with an ability to develop in children some of the arts to the standards they can attain by the age of eleven or twelve. This would entail both training in the use of skills necessary for teaching the arts and the experience of emotional liberation and discipline through their practice.

Methods of teaching the tool subjects, reading, writing, number, with information on the ages at which these are most effectively and economically learnt.

Implications of the methods and training here outlined involve a conception of the organization of the work of a Junior School 'in terms of activity and experience'; such an organization would make full use of special gifts, interests and qualifications of members of staff and give full scope for men as well as women teachers.

As with the Nursery-Infant stage, Junior work involved integration of observation, principles and practice of teaching, and this again should be considered in relation to the recommendation for a continuous term's practice.

*Secondary.* A detailed study of the biological, social, intellectual and emotional needs of adolescents, with emphasis on the need at this stage for the continuation and development of constructive, co-operative methods of work, and for full opportunity for cultivation of



the arts through appreciation, expression and creative activities.

Opportunity for specialist study in one of the following fields: agricultural science, technological science, social science (including history and geography), speech and drama, languages, music, physical education, art and craft, etc.; this should be accompanied by a broadening of the student's range of interest, and a deepening appreciation of the relationship of his individual studies to the world's store of knowledge.

Film and radio, the commonest present-day media of learning. These should be studied with a view to helping adolescents to be reasonably selective and critically appreciative in their use.

Techniques for helping adolescents to a fuller understanding of their social heritage, including not only an introduction to the agricultural, technological and biological sciences, but also to the sociological, *i.e.* not only what man knows, but how he behaves. These techniques must be those of collaboration between teacher and pupil and depend for their success on the personal maturity of the teacher and his good background of knowledge.

At the secondary stage the school programme should be envisaged in terms of the developing of interests, ideas and attitudes through group activities, and the achievement of purposes of service to the community.

## Personal Development

Conference was of the opinion that for full personal development students should have time to cultivate whatever abilities they possess; they should have opportunity to get tuition of a really high standard in whatever line they wish to follow; and they should live in such a community that they would be stimulated to produce creative work. This community must be one based on co-operation, in which every member played an effective part in determining the character of the group, and where each was free to use his gifts and to profit by the talents of others.

## Duration of Course

The Report's proposal that the duration of the training course should normally be three years was endorsed (§ 208a); and it was considered that the basic professional core (see above) should occupy at least one third of this

time. In the case of intending teachers following a degree course, it was suggested that there should be contact with the appropriate training institution from the beginning of the period of study and that the specific training in teaching should be of at least one year's duration.

## Continuous Teaching Practice

While the value of a term's teaching practice for the majority of students was recognized, it was considered that this should not be compulsory in every case, but was a matter to be decided between the training institutions and the student concerned. If it were adopted, the training institutions should be responsible for the supervision of students, in full co-operation with members of the school staff, since this term should be an integral part of the students' education (*cf.* Specific Training, Nursery-Infant and Junior, in this report). Similarly the training institutions, with the H.M.I's and Local Authorities, should take part in the choice of schools used (*cf.* § 266).

## Technical Education

Conference welcomed this section of the Report and commended in particular the stress laid on the liberal aspect of technical education (§ 387). It fully agreed that whether a student received education or merely learned techniques depended on the teacher; and therefore recommended that full-time technical teachers of juniors should have a training of at least one year's duration (*cf.* § 441).

Conference welcomed the recommendations that technical teachers should spend periods in industry (§ 431) and suggested that industrialists should be encouraged to share in the daytime teaching in technical colleges. To help in this, and other forms of co-operation between education and industry and commerce, it was suggested that the Trades Unions should be approached as well as the Professional Institutions (§ 434a).

Conference commended the initiative certain firms had shown in providing educational facilities for young people, but was of the opinion that the time had now come for state control of all schools catering for adolescent wage

earners. It was also suggested that with the establishment of County Colleges no young person under eighteen should be expected to undertake evening courses.

## County Colleges

Conference envisaged that, whatever the organization of County Colleges, this should be such as to allow for both full- and part-time students in the same institution. It was emphasized that the education of all adolescents up to about eighteen years should be considered as a whole, and that training for work in County Colleges should not be different from that for work in the schools.

The realistic attitude of the McNair Report in the section dealing with the training of Youth Service personnel was commended, but it was stressed that this was pertinent to the training of all teachers of adolescents. In all, maturity was a first necessity; all should have learnt, through experience, the value of democratic co-operative, group work; all should know how to work in a co-educational institution and be aware of possible difficulties of relationship between the sexes and capable of helping to resolve these; all should have developed a philosophy of life and be aware of the adolescent's need to gain security through contact with mature, sympathetic adults.

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### **THE NEW ERA**

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# THE NEW ERA

## IN HOME AND SCHOOL

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### Outlook Tower

GOOD wine needs no bush ; but if excuse be needed for printing in *The New Era* an article, however excellent, on a purely political subject, it lies in the need to understand the part America must necessarily play in the world reorganization after the war. As educationists and as internationalists we are bound to ask searching questions as to what the American tradition is now and what of contribution to Europe's future we may expect of her citizens. It is important to read attentively Mr. Agar's explanation, he tells us a great deal of what we want to know. His story, which starts with George Washington, comes right up to date with an outline of the Congress of Industrial Organization's plans for the election of this month.

Many of us in this country have been puzzled by American political institutions and doubtful as to their value. We watch what looks like war to the death between two great parties who seem to lack any dividing line of principle ; and in order to make the unfamiliar scene comprehensible we tend either to pick out each protagonist in the clothes of one of our own familiar political factions—or to dismiss their whole contention as boneless. We cannot perhaps help looking at the American scene in this way, as John Morley says : 'Of all societies since the Roman Republic . . . England has been the most emphatically and essentially political. . . . One great tap-root of our national increase has been the growth of self-government, or government by deliberative bodies,

representing opposed principles and conflicting interests.' (*On Compromise*, Thinkers Library, No. 32, pp. 61 and 62.) It is well to recognize that this has been our national bias (some of whose dangers Morley himself points out) whilst reading Mr. Agar's able *exposé*. For he sets out to show that it is the lack of 'opposed principles' of the two American factions which is in fact their strength. If they became too rigid the Union itself would be imperilled and the fixed constitution would become unworkable. All definite and consistent policies have been left to pressure groups outside the party line-up who, in fact, get their way in the long run if they win public support.

Mr. Agar's picture is of a dynamic society. Whatever adjustments and changes her political set-up may undergo in the future, the fact remains that the U.S.A. as a political entity has achieved to a remarkable degree a combination of unity and freedom over a vast area and despite the heterogeneous nature of the different states. A reorganized Europe no doubt needs a different political structure from that developed in the New World, but it too needs unity with freedom in place of its present dominants, war and coercion. And the qualities we need if we are to achieve a peace economy which will really work are perhaps the qualities developed in building up a vital and co-ordinated U.S.A. during long years of political experience. What are these qualities ? What is the U.S.A.'s special contribution to civilization ?

Part of the answer is to be found in Margaret Mead's *The American Character*, which many of us must have brooded over since it first appeared in Pelican Books this summer. She argues that the Americans have been peculiarly good at taming the wilderness and at linking the world as a physical unit, by reason of their inventiveness. And their inventiveness is the child of their habit of asking the right questions about the practical problems that face them and of treating each problem as a job to be tackled. (Bombed-out Londoners know gratefully and at first-hand how real and ingrained a trait this is in the ordinary American soldier-citizen.)

'We have turned from making up answers to asking questions, asking careful, purposeful, properly phrased questions, setting ourselves problems instead of reconciling ourselves to destiny. . . . Yet in the field of social organization where we have just begun to ask questions, instead of really concentrating on the right ones we continue to bow our heads in impotence and shame that the human race, half of which now despises war, should still be fighting ; that half the human race, in spite of its cities and its granaries and its ships, should be starving to death. . . . Instead of being ashamed we have not got the right answer, we should be ashamed that we have not yet asked the right questions. . . . The question : 'How can we look ourselves in the face, when civilized men in the twentieth century are fighting each other as if they were in the stone age ? leads us exactly



nowhere. The question: How can we analyze the problems of man's relations to man as we have analyzed the problems of man's relationship to nature? is one that sets us free." (*The American Character*, Pelican Books, pp. 146-147.)

It seems probable that it will be in the field of social inventiveness, for which her citizens are peculiarly fitted by reason of their adventurous and empirical approach to practical problems, that the U.S.A. will make her fullest and most characteristic contribution to the world's well-being.

And yet we cannot quite put aside a doubt based on a memory. In 1920 too the Americans were in a position to make this contribution, but they turned their backs on the job. They had their reasons, and we are in no position to throw stones, but we cannot

help wondering—and perhaps it's as well to put aside good manners and ask—whether these reasons are still operative?

Mr. Agar does not quite answer the question. He says: 'To-day the nation has largely made up its mind on the basic problem of foreign affairs, so most of the national leaders of the Republican party are world-minded, like most of the national leaders of the Democratic party.' He also talks about revolt 'against the particular men in power' and we take an old-fashioned comfort from the fact that the presidential rivals of '44 are very different men from those in 1920. But we feel too that the answer does not ultimately lie with them but with the ordinary American citizen. Margaret Mead indicates that he too is different, because he belongs to what she symbolizes as 'fourth generation'

Americans—one generation ahead of his parents of 1920. 'He keeps the moral purpose, the assurance that it is his business as a human being somehow to play a role in a world that is better than his father's and his grandfather's. He realizes, as the third generation does not, that the cars and bath-tubs and refrigerators are not substantial but symbol of the good life, and that the good life has still to be built.'

Mr. Agar wrote his article for the *American Outpost*, and we gratefully acknowledge their permission as well as his for republishing it. A limited number of copies are available in pamphlet form on the bookstalls, price 6d.

We hope to publish in December a parallel article by Mr. Reuben Bishop, editor of *Russia To-day*, on the constitutional structure of the U.S.S.R.

## Political Parties in the United States

Herbert Agar

WHAT is the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties? The European who asks that question usually feels there should be a clear and logical difference, and that if there isn't the party system in America must be at fault. In fact, the reverse is closer to the truth, at least in the field of national politics. State politics and city politics may be different; but in the national field it is safe to say that to whatever extent there is a sharp and enduring difference between the parties, in principles or in geographical and class representation, the American political system is ailing.

The system can only be understood if two facts are kept in mind; first, because of the immense size of the country the economic interests of the sections often clash. They can only be composed by diplomacy and compromise. Second, the separation of powers between the executive and the legislature, though an essential part of the system, might threaten a deadlock in government if some device did not exist for reassembling those powers informally and helping them to become a working team.

The evolution of political parties

in America has been determined by these two facts. The party system to-day is an unwritten constitution which helps to make the written Constitution work. Only from this point of view can its illogicalities be explained, and its strength be appreciated. Nevertheless, before describing why the parties do not stand for opposed political philosophies, and do not represent opposed economic classes, we should note some of the traditional differences which separate them.

The ancestors of the Democratic party are Thomas Jefferson and his friends, who formed a political alliance in the 1790's, during Washington's second term as President, and who came to power in the year 1801. The ancestors of the Republican party are Alexander Hamilton and his friends, who were the dominant group in the cabinets of the first two Presidents (1789-1801).

Broadly speaking, and subject to many qualifications, the Jeffersonians drew their strength from the landed interests (the small farmers and in some cases the great plantation owners) and from the mechanics and manual workers of the towns, whereas the Hamilton-

ians drew their strength from the business and banking and commercial communities and from the middle-class white-collar workers who associated their interests with these communities. There are many exceptions to the above statement that it would be dangerously misleading if taken literally, yet in a very general sense it tends to be true. Some such alignment existed in most sections of the country, not only in the days of Jefferson and Hamilton, but in the days of Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay and Daniel Webster (1820-1850), and in the days of Bryan and McKinley (the 1890's), and in the days when Woodrow Wilson ran against Theodore Roosevelt and Taft, and again in the days of Franklin Roosevelt. The alignment, however, is insignificant compared to the fundamental forces which determine the American party system.

The Civil War (1861-1865) created still another tendency toward strict party alignment, a tendency which sometimes cuts across and invalidates the alignment which has just been described. The Republican party was the party of Union during the Civil War, the party of Northern victory. As a result, the

Author of *A Time for Greatness*, etc.



farmers of the Middle West and of New England (for whom the Union was a sacred cause) long tended to vote the Republican ticket. So did the Negroes, for whom Northern victory meant release from slavery. And on the other side, the States of the old Confederacy formed the 'solid South' wherein only the Democratic party was considered respectable.

Yet in recent years Franklin Roosevelt has won the whole of the Middle West for the Democrats, and the whole of New England with the exception of Maine and Vermont. And in two elections he received most of the Negro votes. And in 1928 (under very exceptional circumstances, to be sure), Herbert Hoover, the Republican candidate, received the votes of Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina and Florida—all parts of the 'solid South'.

The true meaning of the national parties should not be sought in traditional alignments or old animosities. It can only be understood in the regional problem created by America's size, and in the constitutional problem created by the separation of powers.

Such a statement may be resented by millions of Americans who feel a deep loyalty to one of the two great parties. That loyalty is abiding; it is a major factor in American political life. How else can we explain the Georgia judge who said, 'I shall die a penitent Christian, but meet my Maker as an impenitent Democrat?' Or the Republicans who endured painful searchings of conscience before they could bring themselves to vote for Mr. Roosevelt in 1936, or in 1940?

The parties have inspired a devotion which cannot be brushed aside as economic in trend. The devotion stems from an amalgam of history, tradition, regionalism, family bonds, civic pride, the feeling for 'our side' and 'our team'. It will not be adequately described until some genius synthesizes the American complexity. In a scene so vast that men seem to be divided by a law of nature, the uplifting hope has been asserted, and has almost been justified, that men may stand together.

WHEN a nation divides horizontally, on class lines, it runs the risk of revolution. When it

divides vertically, on sectional lines, it runs the risk of secession, of breaking into pieces. The latter is the special problem of very large nations. It has been a dominant factor in American history.

As early as 1804, for example, Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts wrote: 'The people of the East cannot reconcile their habits, views and interests with those of the South and West. The latter are beginning to rule with a rod of iron.' And in the same year George Cabot warned Pickering that New England must wait until her troubles grew worse and then move for secession.

In 1813 and 1814, after the United States had drifted into war with England, Pickering and his friends tried (and failed) to push their section into secession. The attempt was important enough to cause the British fleet to exempt the ports of Massachusetts from the blockade until 1814, in the hope that New England would return to the Empire.

In 1832 and 1833, South Carolina tried to nullify a tariff act which she considered unfair to her agrarian interests. She did not receive the expected support from her sister States in the Deep South, so the attempt ended in compromise. In 1850 nine of the Southern States met in convention in Nashville, Tennessee, to decide whether to demand a constitutional change as the price of remaining in the Union. Again the threat of secession ended in compromise. In 1861 the threat was carried out, at the cost of four years of civil war.

The important point is that every one of these movements toward disunity, except the last, was resolved by political compromise. The national parties must find the bases for such compromises, if possible before a crisis has arisen, in any case before it has led to disaster. Flexibility and diplomatic finesse are demanded of America's party leaders, rather than rigid adherence to a plan or doctrine. Hence the parties are not united groups to a logical programme, but loose associations of interests. It is the task of the party in power to balance these interests, sectional and economic, so that no one of them (and no group of them) can impose itself at the expense of the others.

It is the task of the party in

opposition to watch for the first signs that the party in power is failing to satisfy most of the sections or the special interests, and to be ready with a set of compromises which will please as many as possible of the dissatisfied groups while annoying as few as possible of the groups that are already content. The major problem is always one of diplomacy and balance.

The opposition party does not offer a different philosophy of life, a different future for America. No matter what may be said in the heat of a campaign, the opposition merely offers a slightly different set of compromises and adjustments. If it comes to power it will seek the same sort of America, based on the same principles and the same broad theories of government and economics, as the party it ousted.

On one tragic occasion, this was not the case: when the Republicans came to power in 1861. Jefferson, the first great politician in the United States, said that he dreaded the day when 'a moral principle and a geographical line' might coincide in America. Under such conditions conciliation and compromise become impossible; the parties can no longer perform their diplomatic functions. Secession or civil war must result.

It is eighty years since the end of the Civil War. During those eighty years the American party system has preserved America—enormous and cosmopolitan America—from even the threat of disunion. Those who criticize the system because it does not resemble the systems of small and compact European states should bear this fact in mind.

WHEN Jefferson began to build a political party, in the 1790's, he found that in order to come to power he must have the support of discordant sectional interests. When he won his first election in 1800, his party consisted of conservative oligarchs from the seaboard of South Carolina, city machines (such as that of New York) with a disciplined voting membership lead by bosses who cared only for power, factory workers from the little industrial communities of New England, and a large number of plain citizens in every region who believed in the Jeffersonian dream



of a nation made up for the most part of small farmers and mechanics, with a government which interfered as little as possible, with an industry which was not allowed to dominate political life, and with finance in a still more humble position.

Had Jefferson, as President, tried to force his ideas upon the country he would have run hard against several of the major interests that made the strength of his party, and would either have lost control of his administration or have compelled sectional strife. He called his election 'the revolution of 1800', and so it would have been had Jefferson acted on his own convictions. But like all party leaders from his time to the time of Franklin Roosevelt he could only move as far and as fast as his heterogeneous and quarrelsome team would let him. He couldn't attack finance without losing the city machines; he couldn't insist on laws hostile to the growth of industry without losing the factory workers; he couldn't even forward his life-long desire for the abolition of slavery, because the Southern oligarchs in his party wouldn't let him.

So he compromised, doing a little here and a little there, accepting the increasing scorn of the more fanatical of his followers, but holding together his party and thereby helping to hold together a nation which by geography and diversity of interest might have seemed destined to fall apart.

Each of Jefferson's compromises was attacked, with a mounting splendour of abuse, by one of his party leaders from Virginia: John Randolph of Roanoke. Randolph never compromised, and he never got anything done. Scorning the half-loaf, he used his dazzling powers to demand all or nothing. And he got nothing. Jefferson, whose loosely united party mirrored the conflicting interests of the country, gave ground, adapted himself to the unfriendly facts, and lost much; but he did not lose everything. The nation went forward, escaping disunity, and with not too much injustice. Randolph finally broke with his chief and went into sterile opposition. He was convinced that Jefferson had no character. Jefferson was convinced that Randolph had no common sense.

The John Randolph type has never attained national leadership in the United States. Jefferson was typical of all the great Presidents because he knew that the riddle of politics is how to keep both principles and power. Randolph, the extremist, preserved his principles but he could not win power. The modern demagogue of the Huey Long type can attain power but he has no principles. The effective party leaders find a middle course. Their promises when out of office may sound far-reaching; but on assuming power they go only so far as is possible for a leader of a country the size of an empire, a country in which too many concessions to the corn-belt may hurt organized labour, too many concessions to labour may hurt the cotton-planter, too many concessions to the planter may injure Eastern business, or the cattle-men of the high plains, or the fruit growers on the shores of the Pacific.

Among the special interests listed in the last paragraph, labour is the obvious example of an interest which is not sectional, which is not restricted to one climatic or geographic area. Organized labour is found all over America, which is one reason why there is no such thing as a 'labour vote' in national politics. In some elections there may be a labour vote in New York City, or in California, or even throughout a region such as the coal mine belt of the Southern Appalachians. But there is no labour vote nationally because the local interests and prejudices of a manual worker often transcend the occupational interests.

In 1940 the leaders of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. were in different camps politically. They each tried to swing their own group of unions for their own candidate. But the men went ahead and voted as they liked. They didn't care what John Lewis or Bill Green thought. They were influenced by manifold local issues, by habit, by personal loyalties, and by their own private opinions of Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt. They were little influenced by class consciousness as 'labour'.

Regional interests and loyalties make it difficult for labour to feel itself a unit nationally. The man who works in a cigarette factory in Winston-Salem, North Carolina,

often feels that he has more in common with the tobacco merchant in the near-by town of Wilson, or with the owner of the local garage, than with a worker in a Seattle shipyard, three thousand miles away.

This is perplexing to an Englishman. In 1935 in England the Labour party polled 8,325,260 votes, the Conservative party 10,488,626. The Englishman wonders why labour has no equivalent voice in America. One answer is that England is about the size of the State of Indiana. Even if there were no problems of language or of sovereignty, Europe might find it hard to build a unified Labour party out of men whose lives lie as far apart as Swansea and Warsaw.

OUT of the diplomatic juggling of national politics comes an important protection to minority rights. If the federal government felt free to do anything for which it could get majority support, independent of the sectional distribution of that support, the Union might not survive for a decade.

On matters which affect all sections equally—such as a federal income tax, or the direct election of senators—the American people accept the will of a national majority. But on matters where the interests or the customs of the sections differ markedly, no section will allow itself to be coerced by a majority which lives thousands of miles away. For example, when it is a question of whether to have an embargo act which ruins the merchants of New England (1807), or a tariff which ruins the planters of the Gulf States (1828), or an anti-lynching law which outrages the local pride of the Deep South (1940), the aggrieved section demands that it be not subjected to the economic interest or to the political philosophy of people living at the other end of the country. And in the case of Prohibition (1919-1933), when a minority concentrated in the great cities felt itself persecuted by a nation-wide but largely rural majority, the minority cheerfully nullified the law, and finally brought it into such disrepute that the Constitution had to be amended to dispose of it.

The diplomatic balancings and compromises—'log-rolling' to those



who dislike the results—which form so large a part of the work of the two parties are intended to see that such situations do not arise, that no minority important enough to interfere with the national welfare shall feel itself without recourse and oppressed by the majority. It is a system which tends to insure that no group ever gets exactly what it wants and that no programme is carried out logically; but the system also tends to insure against the worst danger of popular government, the tyranny of the majority.

The determining importance of Congress in the American political system, and the reason for the vast powers given to Congress by the Constitution, can only be understood if these facts are kept in mind. The President represents the nation as a whole; he may be tempted to think and act in terms of national majorities. But the fact that Senators and Representatives must come from the State for which they sit, and that by custom the Representatives must almost always come from the very district for which they sit, means that Congress represents the counties, the towns, the states, the regions; it must always be up in arms against any attempt to impose uniformity where only diversity will work, to impose logic where only compromise is acceptable. The reformer, eager for quick results, is likely to despise Congress; yet if he were allowed to override the conservative will of that body he would be more likely to divide his country than to establish his reform. The representatives of the states and regions are not jealous of their local prerogatives out of perversity; they are jealous out of an instinct for national self-preservation.

They do not deny that the power to obstruct, which the American political system confers upon minorities, makes for a degree of clumsiness and inefficiency; but they feel that a country with an area of three million square miles may have to put up with a little clumsiness in order to enjoy both Union and liberty. They note that some very large countries have bought union at the price of liberty, and that others have preserved liberty by allowing a local autonomy which almost amounts to disunion.

The second purpose of a national

party is to create within itself enough discipline so that if it comes to power, and forms an Administration, the executive and the legislature can work together on a common programme. Such discipline can never be strict. Since a national party, by definition, is 'a loose association of interests', it can not be made to work with the smooth efficiency which would appeal to a Tammany boss, or even to the head of a state political machine. Nevertheless, the need for party discipline has been a major problem of American constitutional history. The problem arose while Washington was still President; it was not solved with any success until the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829-1837).

According to Madison's notes at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the men who designed the government of the United States intended the President to use the Senate as a form of Privy Council, to consult with it during the process of treaty-making and not to present it with a *fait accompli* to take or to destroy. Washington tried to do this. The effort came to an end on the famous day when he and his Secretary of War went before the Senate to discuss a treaty with the Indians on the Northwest frontier. The Senate, seeking in human fashion to aggrandize its own powers, refused to receive Secretary Knox. It admitted that the President had a right to consult the Senate whenever he chose, but it denied that the right extended to members of his Cabinet. The President insisted on Knox's presence; the Senate insisted on his absence. Washington went away angry, vowing that he would never consult with the Senate again. And he never did. The first effort to hold the executive and the legislature together in a working team had failed.

At the same time the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, was having trouble with the House of Representatives. Hamilton had interpreted the Constitution to mean that Cabinet members—although they were not allowed to be members of the legislature—could suggest legislation to the Congress and could go before the House of Representatives to defend and explain their suggestions. For a few years the House allowed Hamilton to have

his way. During those years the dynamic Secretary of the Treasury laid the foundations for the financial structure of the new nation.

In 1795, the House of Representatives woke to the fact that if a Cabinet member was allowed to receive credit for the programme of an administration the importance of the Congress was diminished. Acting under the same motive which had induced the Senate to refuse to receive Secretary Knox, the House refused to receive Secretary Hamilton. Hamilton resigned in disgust, saying that if the Constitution was to be interpreted in such a fashion the new government wouldn't function. The second effort to hold the executive and the legislature together in a working team had also failed.

Yet the public business had to be carried forward. Except in the text-book world of theory an executive cannot merely execute and a legislature cannot merely pass laws. There has to be teamwork, or government will break down. This fact was proved with alarming clarity between 1825 and 1829, under the Presidency of John Quincy Adams.

Adams was one of the wisest, most experienced, most devoted public servants America has produced. Yet as President he could accomplish nothing. He did not have Jefferson's uncanny power of personal leadership. And as an alternative to such leadership he did not see the need for national parties. So he did nothing to build an organization which might have acted as a bridge between himself and his Congress. The result was that he frustrated the Congress and the Congress frustrated him. Four years of negation were followed by humiliating defeat at the hands of Andrew Jackson who, while still a candidate, had laid the groundwork for America's first disciplined party machine.

Jefferson had built a party by his own genius for inconspicuous leadership. But it was a party of generals rather than of troops. It held together, loosely but sufficiently, during Jefferson's two terms (1801-1809) and during the administration of his protégé and successor, James Madison (1809-1817). It began to fall apart while Monroe was President (1817-1825), for by that time Jefferson was ageing and his personal influence



was less strong, his advice less constant. Jefferson died the year after John Quincy Adams was inaugurated, and the country found itself without a political party, and almost without an administration.

The prestige of Congress had been high during these chaotic years, and the House of Representatives had contained some of the best men in American political history. Yet the Government was weak and indecisive. Congress alone could not run the country. When Congress and the executive were rivals rather than team-mates the public business stagnated. Some new device was needed to re-assemble these scattered limbs of government into a working whole. Andrew Jackson and his friends provided the new device in the form of a national party which was made up not of generals alone, but of plain soldiers and non-commissioned officers in every precinct and township of the country. This new army of party workers was held together by loyalty for its leaders, by the hope of each local machine to win special favours from Washington, and by the expectation of federal patronage.

Since Jackson's day each President has had a dual job. He has had to act both as President of the United States and as head of his own party. As President he is the symbol of national unity, and in times of trouble the nation's affection tends to go out to him as to the English King; but as head of a party he is the symbol of internal controversy and disagreement, so that he is the butt of party animosity in the same way as the British Prime Minister. The conflict between loyalty to the man who stands for the United States, and distaste for the man who stands for a political party which one opposes, has produced an interesting ambivalence in the attitude of many Americans toward their President.

It is customary for the opposition to abuse the President for remembering, while in office, that he is also head of a party. Yet if he did not remember, party discipline would break down; the cement which holds an administration together would weaken; the public business would suffer. Party discipline gives to a popular President, who can prove that he has most of the regions of the country behind

him, sufficient power to create a working administration. But it leaves with Congress sufficient power to break any President who does not truly have the country behind his programme or who tries to use a mere numerical majority against the interest of an important section or an important group. The party system, so interpreted, is a subtle refinement on the Constitutional division of powers.

It is interesting to note that the 'issues' at the time of Andrew Jackson, came after the creation of the machine. Nobody knew what the issues were going to be, or who was going to be on which side, until Jackson had built a powerful political machine, had got himself and his friends into office, and had begun to act. Jackson's rivals and personal opponents at once discovered that his actions were dangerous, if not unconstitutional, and this discovery formed the basis for a second party machine. There is nothing discreditable in the story. At that time, what America most needed was a workable party system. This was provided by the political ingenuity of the citizens. The system has endured for 120 years.

The National Convention, invented by the 'Jackson men', is a natural by-product of the party machine. At the Convention, delegates from every district in the country meet together to choose a candidate for the Presidency and to write a party programme. The Convention, by its mere existence, dramatizes the importance of the President as the sole representative of all the people of America. Most voters, before the Jackson era, were far more concerned with who was their Representative than with who was their President. From the time of Andrew Jackson the Presidency has towered above every other elective office.

It does not follow that American politics consist wholly of compromises or 'deals' between the sections, and that principles and ideas are ruled out. Jefferson, the cautious manipulator who was accused of holding his party together at the expense of his principles, has left to America and to the world a set of speeches and writings which come close to defining the national ideal. The same is true of Lincoln. There has

never been a more careful politician. There has never been a man who expressed more nobly, both in words and in character, what is best in American life.

All the great party leaders have contributed character, principles and ideas to their organizations, thereby strengthening the nation during their lifetimes and creating a rallying point for future generations. The world will some day be surprised to discover how many great political leaders the United States produced during the first 150 years. The roll call of the two major parties is impressive. Nevertheless, it is true that third parties (or fourth, fifth and sixth parties) are the chief means by which new ideas and new methods enter American politics. Third parties do not try to come to power in Washington. They try to dramatize a set of principles, or a solution to some grievous national problem. They may try to win office in one city or one state, or sometimes one region, of the country. But their main job is to attract public attention to some ignored idea or plan. If they succeed in popularizing the idea, it will be taken over by one or both of the national parties.

Europeans are inclined to be scornful of the American system when they notice that neither of the two great parties speaks for 'labour'. But the third parties have never been shy in speaking for the oppressed, whether urban or rural. The Populist platform of 1892, for example, contains these sentences: 'The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labour impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labour beats down their wages. . . The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.'

The Populist party was never a national rival to the Republican or Democratic parties. Yet most of its demands (except bi-metallism)



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have since been put into effect, either by the Republicans under Theodore Roosevelt and Taft or by the Democrats under Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Populists gave the country a chance to discuss such projects as collective bargaining, postal savings banks, anti-trust laws, an eight-hour day, and a federal income tax, and to make up its mind that it favoured them. As soon as the ideas became acceptable in most of the major sections, they became something with which the two national parties could deal.

The Democratic party, under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan, was the first of the national parties to take over the Populist programme. But Bryan, though a great power in the West and South, was never able to placate the East sufficiently to win the Presidency. Nevertheless, Bryan made large parts of his borrowed programme so popular that the Republican party under Theodore Roosevelt was happy to put it into effect. 'I seem to be able to rule the nation by losing the Presidency', said Bryan. It would not be easy to decide whether all this was a triumph for the Populist party,

which first made the programme a national issue, or for the Democratic party, whose leader made the programme popular throughout the country, or for the Republican party, which put much of it into effect. In any case it was proof of the flexibility of the American political system.

The experience of Wendell Willkie is another example of this flexibility. A lifelong Democrat, Mr. Willkie was able to win the Republican nomination to the Presidency because of his strong opposition to much of Mr. Roosevelt's domestic policy. Yet as a defeated candidate—but titular head of the Republican party—Mr. Willkie was able and willing to give powerful support to those parts of the President's foreign policy (such as Lend-Lease) which he approved.

Pressure groups, and citizens' propaganda groups, are another route by which new ideas come into American political life. Just as it is the duty of Congress and of the Executive not to go so fast that they fail to carry the major sections and the major interests with them, so it is the duty of citizens who are convinced that an injustice is being done, or that an opportunity

is being missed, to bring all possible pressure to bear upon the public mind, and upon Washington.

The major lobbies, such as the farm lobby, the labour lobby, the National Association of Manufacturers, etc., operate mostly in and upon Washington. It is their job to seek to ward off legislation which their groups dislike and to promote legislation which favours their special interest. It is the duty of the Congress and the President to harmonize so far as possible the conflicting claims of the lobbies, and to win public support in resisting any demands which are opposed to the national interest.

There is always the danger that some lobby—farm, labour, or business—may grow so powerful that it can take over a political party and run the government for its own ends. If that were to happen the subtlety and the genius of the American political system would be destroyed. A single interest, or a coalition of allied interests, would impose its way uncompromisingly, unheeding of the protests of distant minorities. Then at last America would have a 'party of ideas', consistent and efficient and tyrannical. Then at last the experiment



of 1789, looking toward 'a more perfect union' and 'the blessings of liberty' would be undone.

While the lobbies operate chiefly upon the politicians in Washington, the citizens' propaganda groups operate chiefly upon the people back home. There are about sixty citizens' groups, for example, which have been agitating during the past decade for a more world-minded and co-operative foreign policy; and before Pearl Harbour there were probably at least as many groups working for old-fashioned isolationism.

To the internationalist groups Mr. Roosevelt and the Congress seemed maddeningly slow as they moved toward intervention. To the isolationist groups they seemed maddeningly rash and provocative. In fact, at every stage, in every action which they took, the President and the Congress carried a determining majority of the country with them—a determining majority in every section of the country. This was their duty, just as it was the duty of the citizens who disagreed with them for moving too fast or too slow to protest violently, to agitate to the best of their ability, to win the maximum of their fellow Americans to their side. In the making of national policy in the United States the citizens' committees (which are seldom mentioned in textbooks on government) are a creative part of the unwritten constitution. Recently, for example, the *Washington Post* urged that a citizens' committee be formed to abolish the constitutional provision that treaties must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senators present, a provision which many Americans think has become a dangerous anachronism, as it may permit Senators representing a tiny minority of the nation in a few sparsely populated states to thwart a widely-accepted foreign policy. The *Post* argued that such a citizens' committee would be the most democratic and the fastest means of persuading the country. Whether or not it succeeded in persuading the country, such a committee would be a natural and familiar part of American political life.

There is no doubt that in seeking to avoid the tyranny of the majority the American system has permitted practices which make for obstructionism by a minority—the Senate filibuster is another example. When-

ever such problems come up for discussion the citizens' committee is likely to play an important part.

The C.I.O. Political Action Committee, formed for the campaign of 1944, is an interesting combination of pressure group and citizens' propaganda group. The Committee carries on an educational campaign and issues 'guides to political action' in the form of advice as to how the citizen can make his opinions felt through the constitutional processes. The Committee also sends organizers into districts where there are numerous labour voters and seeks to persuade labour to vote as a unit, against candidates who are obnoxious to labour, in favour of candidates who are friendly to labour, regardless of the political party to which any candidate belongs. The effort is to secure for the labour vote, in districts where this seems numerically possible, the position of a non-partisan balance-of-power group which may be strong enough to throw the election to either party. A series of such local movements, operating on the existing party machinery, would do more to strengthen labour's power in Washington than would the formation of a national labour party.

The ill-fated Anti-Saloon League was able to use this method on a national scale, because it was devoted to one simple idea (Prohibition) which found adherents in every district. But having imposed its one simple idea, the Anti-Saloon League was unable to secure enforcement or even respect for its programme in regions or cities where the majority was unconvinced.

**M**ORE than any other modern nation, the United States seems committed to a two-party system. There is need for a national machine which can carry on the government and for another machine which can take over if the one in power fails to do its diplomatic work successfully. Both must be staffed by experienced professionals and served by many thousands of devoted party workers throughout the country. It would be redundant to have a third national machine reaching into every precinct and consuming the time and thought of thousands of workers. And if there

was only one machine there would be no way of expressing distaste for policies or for persons except by a *coup d'état* or a palace revolution. Three major parties would be wasteful under the American system; one major party would be autocratic under any system.

If the parties stood for hard and fast ideas, for alternative systems of government or of economics, there would have to be as many parties as there are theories and programmes. But it is only the small parties, the so-called 'third parties', which stand for fixed theories and fixed plans. The major parties are necessary and ingenious machines designed to make more easy the delicate job of balancing conflicting continental interests, and to provide a workable basis for the co-operation of the executive and the legislature.

The important point is that when one machine succeeds another in power, nothing revolutionary happens. So long as no over-hasty action is permitted which provokes a new secession movement, the system itself is never in question, only the details of working out the system. After a great war or a great depression there may come a dramatic change in the public mood, such as that which overwhelmed the Democrats in 1920 and the Republicans in 1932. But even then the new administration does not bring in a new politics or a new economics. It brings a new adjustment between the claims of long-established interests and of eternal geographic regions. The revolt, in other words, is against the particular men in power—Woodrow Wilson or Herbert Hoover—not against the philosophy or economics of the party in power. In broad outlines the two parties agree in philosophy and economics.

The size of America, the diversity of interests which that size makes inevitable, is one of the most powerful conservative forces in history. If the farmers of the Dust Bowl suffer grievously during a drought, or if debtors fare badly during a period of deflation, enough votes may be changed to put the opposition into power. The victors in the election will seek to redress the balance in favour of the oppressed section or the oppressed group. But the chief task of the party will still be to maintain



equilibrium in a country so vast that the farmers or the factory workers or the bankers or the borrowers or the cattle-men remain a small part of the total national community. And the secondary task will still be to preserve a rough working discipline within a government whose powers have been divided, wisely or not, in the hope that thus the citizen may be preserved from becoming the servant of the state.

If this seems like too cheerful a picture of the American party system, the fault may lie with those who have for so long described that system as a joke. The system is necessarily complicated, and therefore hard to explain. Too many writers have been content to satirize its superficial oddities. Yet the fact remains, as Dennis Brogan has pointed out, that when the American Constitution went into effect in 1789 'there was still a King of France and Navarre, a King of Spain and the Indies, a Venetian and a Dutch Republic, an Emperor in Peking; a Pope-King ruled in Bologna, a Tsarina in Petersburg and a Shogun in Yedo, not yet Tokio and not yet the residence of the Divine Mikado.' The British have also overhauled their Constitution since 1789. The American system of politics, which has weathered the wars, revolutions and economic collapses ravaging the world during the past 150 years, must possess uncommon resilience and adaptability.

When one or the other party has been under liberal or conservative leadership for a few years, the myth arises that the party is 'naturally' liberal or 'naturally' conservative. To-day, for example, many people believe that the Republican party is conservative, the Democratic progressive, or that the Republican party is isolationist, the Democratic committed to collective security. Yet the Democratic party in Mississippi tends to be conservative, like the Republican party in Pennsylvania, whereas the Republican party in Minnesota tends to be progressive, like the Democratic party in Arizona.

In terms of national leadership, both parties were conservative in the days of Harrison and Cleveland (1884-1896); both were liberal in the days when Theodore Roosevelt led the Republicans and Bryan the Democrats. And the Republican

party of McKinley and of Theodore Roosevelt was internationalist, whereas the Democratic party of Bryan was the reverse. To-day the nation has largely made up its mind on the basic problem of foreign affairs, so most of the national leaders of the Republican party are world-minded, like most of the national leaders of the Democratic party. And if after three years of war the Republicans can still produce a Senator Nye, who is isolationist, the Democrats can produce a Senator Reynolds, who is more so.

Neither party has a rigidly fixed political philosophy. Each is a machine for carrying on the government and cementing the Union, rather than an organization for forwarding ideas. Each, if it is to survive and to do its job, must adapt itself nationally to the major drift of the public opinion; and locally it must adapt itself to the prevailing temper of the state or region. A radical Republican party would go out of business in Pennsylvania, just as a tory Republican party would go out of business in the progressive atmosphere of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The parties do not exist to impose a single doctrine throughout the country; they exist to reflect the diversity of the nation and to create out of that diversity a set of workable compromises.

If the true purpose of the system is understood, if the subtlety of the problem is appreciated, the American parties will be seen to have more dignity and worth than is usually admitted. And the world will be less worried about America's role in the future if it remembers that no matter what party comes to power there will be no revolutionary change in policy. Domestic and foreign policy, under a Democratic or a Republican administration, will continue to express the consensus among the citizens, with due regard to the special interests and traditions of the great regions. Anything less, which left out the consensus, would make for oligarchy. Anything more, which disregarded the interests of the regions, would make for disunion. The problem of federal politics in America—imposed by climate and geography on the one hand, by the national will on the other—it to preserve sufficient unity side by side with the maximum of liberty.

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# Children's Communities—a Commentary

G. A. Lyward

Psycho-therapist, Founder and Director of  
Finchden Manor Clinic and School

NOT long ago a letter appeared in *The Times* from Lady Allen of Hurtwood in which she pointed out that 'the public are for the most part unaware that many thousands of institutional children are being brought up under repressive conditions that are generations out of date and are unworthy of our traditional care for children.' This was followed by what *The Times* itself called a flood of correspondence. Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote: 'All children should be tirelessly noisy, playful, grubby-handed except at meal-times, soiling and tearing such clothes as they need wear, bringing not only the joy of childhood into the house but dust and mud as well: in short, everything that makes the quiet and order of sickness and its nursing impossible'. Dr. Susan Isaacs wrote that 'Institutional life as such is terribly impoverishing to the spirit, unless skill and knowledge are there to overcome its great disadvantages.' A Member of the House of Commons wrote about twenty institute children whom he had seen evacuated to the house of a friend of his, and of how 'the change in four or five months was astonishing. They began to realize that they were receiving not only food and clothes but affection; and they in turn began to give their love and trust.'

There are, according to a *Times* leading article, about 80,000 children now being reared in some 1,400 public or voluntary residential homes of various types in this country. How many will there be in Europe who have suffered both mental and physical terror and have lost confidence and self-respect and are going to be homeless when the war ends? The International N.E.F. has felt that by 'collecting straightforward accounts of some of our experiences with uprooted children in Great Britain, we might be of some small service to those who will work with Europe's children later on.' Three articles in the last number of the *New Era* contained the first of such accounts. Dr. Winnicott, Mr. Wills and Miss Vulliamy tell how they and their fellow-workers set out to provide an environment that would con-

vince the children that they could speak freely and enjoy sharing responsibility and shaping conditions. Their words may be translated into many tongues, but who can hope to translate the confused and strangled cries of all the individual children of Europe who have been victims of the war? It is difficult, even in normal circumstances, to know clearly the unique joys and sorrows of children. Only when they can speak spontaneously do they sometimes tell what it is that hurts or what it is that startles or excites them to a pleasure or a pain too disturbing to be put into words easily, and yet too real not to turn to bitterness or confusion if it has to be borne in solitude or if it is brushed aside as irrelevant or without significance.

The spontaneity which indicates growth and in turn encourages it has not often been a mark of the institution child of the past; it has a counterfeit which, however, does not make for real peace. The institution child is only too often incapable of real gratitude.

What is gratitude? Do not let us think of it as having mainly to do with gifts. Is it not rather a light—which a gift may kindle—indicating a secure relationship between two people who know how to give and take.

I have sometimes been called upon to admit into my community adolescents who have been at institutions where they have appeared normally happy and normally law-abiding, until it became clear that all was not well. In every instance these people seemed to have an institution-produced layer wrapped around their original life of loving and hating and being hurt. One such had spent his earliest years in degradation but from then onwards for eight or nine years the staff of a Home had done everything they could to make amends to him for those earlier years. He knew all the language of gratitude but any keen observer could see that he never overflowed with the emotion which cleanses and is not born of desire. Nothing welled up as it does from a child towards the parent to whom he has never felt himself in debt for services rendered. Therefore there was no experience of increasing control through expansion of life, no self-mastery such as will be sorely needed in the world.

The institution child feels only too regularly that what he receives is 'no more than his due', while what is withheld is sure evidence of 'their meanness'. Consciously or unconsciously, book-keeping is going on in his mind and he is

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becoming increasingly involved in his balance-sheet. The child happy with his parents is involved in a different way. He is involved in a total living experience, not so calculating.

The real secret of living in a Home with children is knowing how to be *creative*, not only in giving and adjudicating but also in taking away and in being 'unfair' and haphazard, so that the gift shall never deny the children increasing awareness of the giver. Where this is being successfully achieved, 'please' and 'thank you' are not so much polite words frequently heard from those under an obligation, as echoes (sometimes shy, sometimes exuberant) of something heartfelt. As such they are the 'acid tests' of sanity.

Materialists and behaviourists might be confounded to discover in the words and actions of the majority of institution children evidence that they have been forced to ask themselves, wittingly or unwittingly, 'do *we* matter or only our condition?' Their early condition provoked charity, just as the present condition of thousands of children in Europe will provoke charity. But charity, when it means the surrender of what is surplus, is not enough. And organised charity can so easily forget that the needs of the individual must be met by individuals.

It is a step towards satisfying real needs to let children meet in session to make rules and pass

judgments and to challenge them to run their communities, taking real risks, with or without 'wages'. But routine in such matters can be burdensome and the secession of the adult can make for unreality; and anyhow, living together is so much more than a business of producing law and order and anticipating the virtues and dangers inherent in political democracy. It is as recurring opportunities of breaking up the institutional soil that such activities should chiefly be welcomed and emulated.

When a homeless or otherwise uprooted child arrives as the newest member of a group, he needs to feel that he will not have to wait to be accepted by the others, that he has not got to work his passage 'home'. There can be no standard way of convincing a child quickly that he is a real part of his new environment. Probably the best way is for somebody 'in authority' (adult or other child) to show him some unexpected politeness or consideration. What will be unexpected to one will not be unexpected to another. This, together with a certain casualness, will go a long way to persuade a child, even against its will, that law is not *everything*, nor even order, still less prestige or position. This is what I should call introducing the child to the deep security which he is about to explore.

The next step is very important indeed, and it is nothing less than introducing him as soon as it seems

wise to unfairnesses. You will never take the inverted commas away from 'home' for a new child until he has begun to breathe the fresh air of unfairnesses. It is quite certain that the *deep* sense of security is strengthened by experiences of unfairnesses enjoyed, just as it is certain that the unfairnesses can only have their health-giving effect where they force a recognition of a fundamental security which is the result, not of charitable intent but of human love.

It will be noted that I have said security (singular) but unfairnesses (plural). It is so important that the children should not live in terms of securities (plural). These latter can be secured by laws and sanctions but they are not enough unless they lead the children into living, creative contact with human beings.

I think this is the chief thought aroused by reading the reports of Mr. Wills and Miss Vulliamy. I am entirely in favour of children meeting in session, but I am equally against their doing so as a permanent integral aspect of their group life. Regular meetings can save them from going that much deeper which, as uprooted children they need to go, into the realm where laws operate ruthlessly and where they may stumble against a love which is not so likely to emerge into the urgent considerations of children's parliaments and children's courts.

I am entirely in favour of children sharing in the running of their communities, but those who run must be given opportunities of reading something more than the books of rules or chores lists.

Let us see to it that our children's communities are real havens, sensitive to rhythm, magic circles within which the children can meet with uncertainties and unfairnesses and as a result become aware of the giver, and thus know our membership one of another. Then they will not cling to the gift. Then they will develop a strength which will allow them to rededicate themselves to something more challenging than the service of any system or of any state.

[The articles to which Mr. Lyward refers appeared in the September-October Issue of the *New Era*. These are obtainable in pamphlet form, price 1/-, from Miss Soper, N.E.F., 50 Gloucester Place W.I.—Ed.]

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# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Bulletin No. 21  
November 1944

Edited by David Jordan,  
20 Dorchester Avenue, Palmers Green, N.13

The Education Act will secure the recasting of the system of post-primary education so that all existing senior elementary schools come within the scope of the secondary school system. This will 'bring into the same administrative field a very large number of schools of a different character and different traditions from the present secondary schools', and will raise a number of problems with which members of the E.N.E.F. will need to be concerned. The meaning of parity of conditions for all post-primary schools in terms of staffing, buildings, equipment and amenities has yet to be worked out in the infinite variety of local conditions which make up our educational scheme of things. In the large towns, as we pointed out in the July Bulletin, the problem of buildings cannot be tackled successfully if we think in terms of patchwork alterations rather than in terms of extended sites and new buildings. Petticoat Lane and Park Lane cannot be given equality of status merely by a change of name. In the rural areas, especially those in which reorganization under the Hadow Scheme has been only tardily undertaken, the implementation of the Education Act must mean the building of a number of new secondary schools to serve as centres for surrounding scattered villages. Problems of transport, of meal provision, and of suitable curricula for the 'modern' stream in particular have yet to be faced.

The need for vision, for research, for discussion, for propaganda in the cause of education was never greater than now. 'The harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few'—yet our own steady increase in individual membership and the reports of branch activities are evidence of an awakening sense of individual responsibility and give grounds for cautious optimism. What is needed now is the translation of general principles into

particular policies. Our British tradition of decentralization and scope for local variation within a general framework makes the study of local conditions imperative. The Ministry of Education may prescribe a national minimum but the real onus for educational reform will still rest upon the local authorities. An unprogressive or reactionary education committee; an unimaginative education officer primarily bent upon securing a minimum of administrative dislocation; a teaching staff lacking the new techniques of presentation—these, either singly or in combination, may do much to reduce the Education Act to a pious hope, generous in conception but impracticable of fulfilment. The best corrective is the constant pressure of an informed public opinion, and the spearhead must be found in groups of people who understand the general principles of the Education Act and have arrived by enquiry and discussion at a knowledge of the steps which should be taken in their own area to make the Act effective. We suggest therefore that as a part of their winter programme E.N.E.F. Groups should study the particular needs of their own area, prepare memoranda setting forth their conclusions, and use the local press for obtaining publicity and educating public opinion.

An excellent example of a piece of group work of the kind we have in mind is the memorandum by the assistant staff of the Cambridge and County High School for Boys to which we refer later.

In this Bulletin we shall deal almost exclusively with the question of the government of secondary schools. This is not a matter of purely administrative importance but one which affects the whole spirit and tone of the school and largely determines whether it is an autocratically ordered institution or a freely functioning democratic community. Under clause 16 of the Education Bill every county and auxiliary secondary school is

to have an instrument of government providing for the constitution of a body of governors, and is to be conducted under articles of government which define the functions of the local education authority, the body of governors, and the head teacher, in relation to the school. An outline of the 'Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools' (Circ. 6523, H.M.S.O., 2d.) was presented as a White Paper in May of this year. It draws attention to the need for variety of machinery and says that 'it would undoubtedly be wise for local education authorities to consult various interests in the area before the articles of government for county schools are framed. In this way an opportunity will be given for a necessary variation to meet the different circumstances of individual schools and areas.' It is assumed that the governing body will include 'adequate representation of the local education authority' and 'other persons whose qualifications are such as to enable them to play a useful part in the government of a secondary school.' With regard to the 'other persons' the White Paper says *'there is general agreement that the interests of the teaching staff of the school or schools, as well as of parents and old scholars, should be reflected in the composition of the governing body.'* The majority of bodies consulted hold that this can be secured without the staff or the parents' and old scholars' associations having the right to nominate governors for the purpose.

In a recent pamphlet (*The Four Freedoms in Secondary Education* (University of London Press, 1/-), Lady Simon outlines the legitimate rights of the various partners in the educational process. The Four Freedoms are: Freedom of the Governing Body; Freedom of the Headmaster; Freedom of the Parents and the less frequently proposed Freedom of the Assistant Staff. Lady Simon is evidently aware of the need for safeguarding members of the assistant staff



against arbitrary action by the headmaster, who not infrequently has neither better qualifications nor more experience than those who serve under him. 'It is not by any means clear', she says, 'that the assistant staff wish to be entirely at the mercy of the head, with the right of dismissal as well as of appointment.' The L.C.C. appoints assistant staff through a sub-committee of its education committee on the recommendation of the Governors, since 'autocratic power such as is involved by transferring on heads the power to make appointments is always fraught with danger.' Lady Simon says 'it is regrettable that the majority Fleming Report recommends "that the functions of the head should include the appointment of the assistant staff with the approval of the governing bodies" without any reference to the local education committee. . . . The N.U.T. and the Headmasters' Conference ask for the right of access to the governing body for the assistant staff when any occasion makes such approach desirable, and the former tentatively suggests that a representative of the staff might be given the right of attendance at meetings of the governing body. It would be better surely if the assistant staff were represented on the governing body.'

From the point of view of the assistant teacher a great deal of importance attaches both to the right of representation on the governing body and to the questions of the mode of appointment and dismissal. Experience of the elementary and secondary service would suggest that, in general, the elementary school teacher tends to become a part of the education service of an area, while the secondary school teacher becomes a unit in a particular school. The former is usually appointed to the permanent service of the education authority and can move with relative freedom between the schools of the area; the latter is appointed as a member of the staff of an individual school and movement is difficult, if not impossible. In the state of flux and experiment which will be necessary in the post-war years the rigid attachment of teachers to individual

schools is to be deprecated. It is bound to make difficult the wise placing and free transference of young teachers fresh from the training colleges, and the secondment of teachers for various forms of experimental work within their own county area. On the other hand, attachment to the county education service rather than appointment to an individual school must not be used in such a way as to undermine the teacher's sense of security of tenure in a school. Administrators will need to be reminded that good teaching is dependent upon personal relationships which take time to establish, and that the transfer of a teacher is an important step in which the human element must not be disregarded.

A new circular (No. 5, 'Local Administration of Education, H.M.S.O., 3d., by post 4d.) issued by the Ministry of Education, deals with the new local government machinery necessitated by the coming into operation of the new Education Act, and includes a section on the appointment and dismissal of staff, including teachers. The Ministry recommends that the appointment of assistant teachers should be in the hands of the Governors and the L.E.A. in consultation with the Head. On the question of dismissal, clause 57 says, 'any proposal to dismiss a teacher should be considered in the first instance by the managers or governors, in the case of headmasters or headmistresses at two meetings held at intervals of not less than 14 days. In all cases the teacher should have the right to appear before the managers or governors accompanied by a friend and, in the event of a resolution to dismiss him being passed, to appeal to the Local Education Authority who should consult the divisional executive before reaching a decision.' This, however, is a recommendation and has therefore no statutory power. Two sets of proposals for the administration of education under the new Act have already been given wide publicity—those of Kent and Surrey. In Surrey the appointment of assistant teachers is to be made by the governors, in consultation with the head; in Kent applications for

advertised vacancies are to be sent to the head 'who will make the appointment, which will be provisional and subject to the approval of the Governors' (*vide The Schoolmaster*, Sept. 14, 1944, p. 162). We feel bound to point out that appointments of staff by individual heads, subject only to nominal approval and confirmation, has in the past been bound up with an autocratic system of school management which is as undesirable as it is unnecessary. Much depends on the personality of the head, but the experience of assistants in secondary schools in the past suggests that the time has come for a clearer delimitation of powers which, if exercised unwisely, penalize the most progressive teachers and place a premium upon acquiescence rather than activity on the part of the assistant teaching staff.

A useful suggestion regarding the definition of powers is given in Lady Simon's pamphlet, *Headmaster, Staff and Parents*, to which we have already made reference. Summarising the freedoms essential to the proper administration of secondary education, she says:

'The head should have access to the governing body and should be assured that no major decision affecting the school can be taken unless he has been given full opportunity to express his views. He should have the main voice in the selection of his assistant staff, but the actual appointment and dismissal should be by a public body, in order to safeguard the staff against autocratic action by him. The essential freedom here would appear to be (a) that the head should see all the applications for appointment to the staff of his school; (b) that in conjunction with the chairman and director the head selects the short list for interview; (c) that the head must be asked for his opinion before the final choice is made.'

'The assistant staff should be represented on the governing body.'

'All parents should have equal rights in the choice of school for their children, and the final allocation of children between schools, under any form of public control, should be the responsibility of the local education authority, as the only body which represents all the parents.'



The assistant staff of the Cambridge and County High School for Boys circulated a short time ago an excellent 'Memorandum upon the Position, Management and Development of Secondary Day Schools, which made the following recommendation :

'The management of secondary schools should more often be put in the hands of keener and better informed men. In a school under a L.E.A. it is desirable that the majority of the governors should continue to be aldermen or councillors, but that is only the more reason why the co-opted governors should be men chosen for their interest in one particular school. Instead of being, as is so often the case, retired headmasters or other men vaguely supposed still to have an interest in education, they should be :

- (i) a representative keen parent while he remains a keen parent ;
- (ii) an enthusiastic old boy and
- (iii) a typical and representative assistant master.'

Another possible solution is outlined in the specially contributed article by Mr. K. L.

**A Special Article** Woodland which follows. Mr. Woodland is on the staff of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School for Boys, Barnet, and is a member of the Barnet, Southgate and Enfield branch of the E.N.E.F. Next month's Bulletin will deal with *The Home and the School*, and we hope to include a contribution by Dr. R. H. Crowley, late Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education.

## The Government of Secondary Schools

K. L. Woodland

THE first Regulations for Secondary Schools, issued by the Board of Education in 1904, 'were based', says the Spens Report, 'wholly on the tradition of the Grammar Schools and the Public Schools'. It was not surprising that it should be so, for from these schools, with their long and honourable history, had come the legislators and administrators who were responsible for establishing the

new secondary system. The old School Boards had done some progressive and successful experimenting in secondary education until the perspicacious Mr. Cockerton put a stop to it in 1901 ; but their experience was simply passed over. Hence it was that the method of governing State Secondary Schools was modelled not on that of the existing state-controlled (elementary) schools, but on that of the private and endowed Grammar and Public Schools. And if there is one constantly recurring theme in the story of the Grammar Schools, both public and private, during the last 150 years, it is, ironically enough, the haunting horror of state interference.

The revolution in political thought which accompanied the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution raised the bogey of state control at a time when the schools were in anything but fit condition to meet it, and for years the threat was serious. Even their best friends could find little to say in support of the grammar schools as they were in those days, and there were not wanting those who would gladly have seen them swept away in favour of a state system of education. The thing was done in Prussia in the early years of the nineteenth century, and many serious reformers, like Sidney Smith, wanted the example followed here.

Traditionally the grammar schools had been governed by men of considerable standing, not merely locally, but nationally also. The original governors were often in a position to obtain royal sanction for the foundation, and until well into the nineteenth century the governorships were filled by men of similar type. They regarded themselves as answerable only to the Lord Chancellor, and took their office seriously, visiting the schools personally from time to time and examining the pupils in Latin to confirm the standard of learning was being maintained. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, their efforts seem to have flagged somewhat. The spirit of the times was against them. And when the direct attack on the schools came after the turn of the century, not even their powerful influence would have been strong enough to save them. The Augean Stables, which is not too strong a term for the schools of the period,

would first have to be cleaned from inside.

Thus it came that the fate of the schools, a matter of life or death, rested in the hands of the despised schoolmasters. They had for long been ill-paid, overworked, harrassed, liable to be called to book at any time by the governors. Now at last their opportunity came, and how they used it is a story which needs no repetition here. Butler, Shrewsbury, Arnold of Rugby, Thring of Uppingham and many others are names which still live to-day. They reformed the corrupt and moribund grammar schools, and saved them, and none but men of their calibre could have done so. But they fixed their own terms, and took their reward—complete freedom to run the schools in their own way with no interference, even from governors. The tables were turned, and the headmasters, having won their independence, have maintained it in face of all attacks on it to the present day.

### The 1904 Position

This was the set-up which the new secondary schools took over in 1904 ; absolute authority of the headmaster within the school, governors' powers whittled down to a minimum—the appointment of a headmaster when required, and some control over finance. Many governing bodies of the new schools have acquiesced in this situation, knowing no other. Some headmasters have voluntarily shared the powers with their governors, but it must be granted that most have taken their cue from the original Board's Regulations and strongly resisted any interference with their prerogative. Local Education Authorities sometimes seek to restore the balance by the issue of restricting regulations, sometimes simply content themselves with overriding the head's authority when they can. In most cases there is the paradoxical situation of a democratically elected governing body having to invest the headmaster with autocratic power.

One fundamental difference between the administration of the Public Schools and that of the county and municipal secondary schools has been overlooked. The former schools, the old foundations which survived the purge in the early years of the nineteenth century, as well as the new 'pro-



stary' schools (Cheltenham, Ilborough, Rossall, and the rest) which were founded in the middle of the century as a result of their successful resurgence, are subject to the economic law of supply and demand. They are nearly all day-local, i.e. boarding, and have always catered for a particular social class. The success or failure of the headmaster has been determined always by the rise or fall in the number of pupils. While the numbers increased the governors did little more at their formal meetings than congratulate themselves and raise the headmaster's stipend. But if the numbers fell they had no alternative but to find a new head and get rid of the old one; there was probably insufficient money to pay him anyway. The headmaster's position, impregnable while he made the school pay, quickly crumbled if he failed to do so. The position is the same to-day. He may be euphemistically promoted (as in *The Housemaster*) to the bishopric of the North Circular Road; but he has to go. The head of a secondary school, however, is subject to no such check on his activities. The schools are day-local, and the supply has never caught up with the demand. There is no index of falling numbers to reveal failure, and even if they suspect it, democratically elected governors are seldom in positions of sufficient influence to get the head 'promoted' in the modern manner. The great heads of the Public Schools have always had to build up their position of power by the force of their personality, ability and competence. In the secondary schools the inefficient headmaster enjoys the same unassailable independence as his most proficient colleagues.

#### Suggestions for Reform

The problem, then, is to eliminate the weaknesses of the present system of secondary school government, and give it a more democratic form. The most promising solution would appear to be the establishment for each school of a 'Governors' Educational Committee' or 'Council', composed of an equal number of representatives (not more than

five each) of the governing body and the teaching staff. The teaching staff in a present-day secondary school, attracted by better working conditions and emoluments and with better training and qualifications than even twenty-five years ago, contains a large body of informed educational opinion and sound judgement. It can, however, be tempered with advantage by contact with the views and outlook of representatives of the extra-mural world. Secondary schools, being day (i.e. local) schools, are having to abandon the aloofness which many headmasters, again in emulation of the Public Schools, have diligently cultivated. More and more they have to become the cultural as well as educational centres of their immediate neighbourhood, and it is the governors' responsibility to ensure that it is so. Some governors, being democratically elected, are admittedly not equipped by learning or experience to deal competently with the school's academic problems; others, possibly appointed or co-opted for the purpose, are exceptionally well qualified to do so. These latter accept membership of the governing body with the aim of actively promoting the educational development of the school, and the proposed committee would secure for the school, to a degree impossible at present, the benefit of their knowledge and interest. They would form a useful buffer between the headmaster and the barrage of circulars, regulations and memoranda which are usually directed at him; and they will lighten his shoulders of some of the responsibility for internal organization which at present he must bear alone. The committee, or council, would be answerable to the governing body, for that must be the supreme authority. But this committee of eight or ten, elected by their fellow governors or their colleagues on the teaching staff for their special educational knowledge and understanding, would bring together the two parties to the working of the school on a democratic footing, and eventually make the school a more vital force in the social life of the community.

## Forthcoming Conferences

### Day Conference, Derby

On Saturday, November 4th, at Parkfields Cedars School, Dr. Pearse is to speak on 'The Peckham Health Centre'. Members from nearby branches, and friends interested, will be welcome. Particulars may be obtained from Miss N. Lingard, 6 Western Road, Mickleover, Derby (Tel. Derby 53546), or from the Organizing Secretary.

### Day Conference, London

On Saturday, November 25th, Professor Hamley will speak on 'Youth Work in the Middle East: some experiments and their implications for post-war youth work'. Dr. Rose, Director of the School of Slavonic Studies, University of London, will be in the Chair. The meeting will be at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, and there will be morning and afternoon sessions. In the evening it is hoped to arrange a party to visit 'Tomorrow the World'.

### Christmas Conference, London

This will be from December 29th or 30th to January 1st or 2nd, and will be on 'The New Secondary School'; Chairman: Mr. Woodhead, Director of Education, Kent. Speakers will include Mr. G. J. Coës (Goldsmiths' College), Mr. A. H. T. Glover (Sheffield Junior Art School), Dr. Grayson Kefauver (American Embassy), Miss Deana Levin (specialist on Education in U.S.S.R.), and Professor F. J. Schonell (University of Wales).

### Executive Election

Full members of the E.N.E.F. have already received a notice of the annual election of the national representatives on the Executive Committee. At this stage in the growth of the Fellowship it is very important that the Executive should reflect the will of the main body of the membership. *Make certain that you return your voting paper in good time.*

Further particulars of the Conferences noted above, and of other activities of the English New Education, from the Organizing Secretary, 74 Earlham Road, Norwich. *Please note change of address.*



# Book Reviews

**Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education.** By Dr. P. Rossello, Assistant Director of the Bureau International d' Education of Geneva. Abridged and translated by Marie Butts. (Evans Brothers. 2/6).

This slim volume appears at a timely moment. It is a mine of information and suggestion concerning the possibilities and problems of an international centre of education, and has already in the original French helped in the drafting of plans for the setting up of an official organ of education after the war. In its English dress—the work of Miss Marie Butts, known to all members of N.E.F. international conferences as the ideal interpreter, and herself for long years a devoted worker at the B.I.E. of Geneva, it is a pleasure to read—succinct, precise and well-produced.

Dr. Rossello has done a valuable piece of work with charm as well as acumen. A history of the past attempts at establishing an international bureau, and of projects and ideas connected therewith, might very well have become a mere dry listing of facts and fancies. But Dr. Rossello has made of this half of his book a living, and indeed enthralling, account of the vicissitudes of an idea. A hundred eventful years lie between the first blue-print of an international bureau of education, issued in a pamphlet by Marc-Antoine Jullien, that enthusiastic French revolutionary and admirer of Pestalozzi, and the establishment of the B.I.E. at Geneva in 1925 in a concrete and enduring form.

One of the most enlightening parts of this section of the book recounts how Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews came to realize that only an organ of governments would be able to provide the sort of exchange centre that she desired, and how she at last succeeded in persuading 16 governments, including those of Great Britain, France and her own country, the U.S.A., to send delegates to an international conference at the Hague designed to establish such an international organ. It was an educational disaster that this conference, arranged for the summer of 1913, and then postponed until September, 1914, should never have taken place.

Later on Dr. Rossello explains why the question of education was ignored at the Peace Conference in 1919, and describes in detail how the real problem was sidetracked by the setting up of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. In his discussion of the latter point he makes it clear

that it was a general fear of interference with the schools that led to the rejection of the idea of an international office of education, even though its object were only to collect and distribute information. But he omits to point out another cause of failure—the unfortunate idea, shared by even so convinced an internationalist as Gilbert Murray, that 'education for peace' could be divorced from the general education given in schools. This led to 'education for peace' becoming no more than education in the principles of the League of Nations and eventually merely instruction about the League. How different this from the grandiose conception of the philosopher Henri Bergson, the first President of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, who saw in it the one hope for a secure foundation to world peace and the League of Nations. Only a few private bodies, like the New Education Fellowship, which were founded at the same time as the Institute, realizing that the general education given to children leads inevitably to peace or war according to its character and the attitude of parent and teacher, were left in the result to attempt this fundamental work of peace that had been ignored by governments. The extraordinary success of their efforts (in spite of a grotesque lack of money and often of experience) nevertheless linked in friendship and active co-operation educators from China to Peru, and so proved that this is the true road towards a mankind at peace.

The second half of the book contains a discussion, based upon the first half, of the problems of an international organ of education—its status,

whether private or official, the nature of its finances and legal constitution and the questions with which it is competent to deal. To the whole is attached an account of the B.I.E. of Geneva, its growth and work, as well as a copy of its constitution. This account is all too short and modest. What the B.I.E. has done, and the lessons it has learnt in the doing, constitute one of the sure foundations upon which international co-operation in education can count in the post-war world.

This second part, interesting though it is, suffers from a failure to realize the reason for a nation's fear of interference with its education. Each nation has its own way of life, its own moral and emotional structure, ignorant interference with which can only produce unexpected and undesirable results. For aims and methods of education are inextricably mixed and all of us act unconsciously upon the basis of certain ideals, attuned to the cultural environment in which we live, desiring to educate our children to be able to meet the difficulties, and carry on the traditions, of our own particular way of life. Witness the contrast between the English and American type of aggressiveness, and the reasons for it, as described by Margaret Mead in her illuminating study, 'The American Character', or the way in which English children are expected to control the expression of their emotions while American children are encouraged to give vent to them. Here is no good or bad *per se* (there are good and bad sides to both ways of reacting), but a national way of life which each nation wishes to see perpetuated. It was the great merit of the New Education Fellowship's Commission on International Understanding that it followed the lead of Dr. George Green and purposefully basing its work on this need for intercultural understanding.

As a result of this failure of insight Dr. Rossello's analysis slips up at various points. It treats, as so many do, the passage from the national organization of education to the international plane as if it were similar to that between local problems of education and regional or national ones, whereas, in fact, the ease of passage in the latter case is due to the existence of the nation as a single cultural unit with its predetermined way of life while in the international sphere there are many different and even discordant cultures, so that the problem of their relations is quite a different one. Again, his classification of educational questions makes a distinction between the aims of education and its process (including methods and curriculum) which is really fictitious. This leads

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for instance, to class the N.E.F. among institutions dealing with the process of education, while the International Moral Education Conference listed among those dealing with the process of education. The result is sometimes considerable confusion. Nevertheless this second section forms an excellent introduction to the whole and can be recommended to all those wishing to inform themselves on the subject.

There is one caveat, however, that must be entered. Like all historical summaries it presents a one-sided picture of the situation to-day, and perhaps the last part of this review may be devoted to explaining in what way this is the case. When the war is over, the Western democracies will wish to organize themselves not only for peace but also on a democratic basis. This is only possible, as Lord Simon has shown, where there are organizations possessing power and authority that are not dependent upon the State. For the State, in the best of cases, can only represent the majority, and the minority, which will include the most forward-looking, must also have centres of organization to be their strongholds. This is true of the international world as well, and leads to certain important considerations, as we shall see in a moment.

It seems likely that the International Education Office which will be set up after this war will be organized on one of two plans. It may follow the example of the International Labour Office and its controlling Council may consist of the representatives of three bodies within each nation: (1) the Ministry of Education, i.e. an appointee of the Minister of Education, representing political forces, (2) the administrative organs of education, i.e. E.A.'s, etc., representing the organizers of the educational machine, and (3) the teachers, that is those who actually do the job of educating. Thus different aspects of education could be directly represented on its governing body. But it is much more likely that this plan will be rejected, since most governments, knowing that they will have to pay the piper, will expect to call the tune. If so, the best that we can hope for is a make-shift control in which the educational forces in the community will have some say, probably only in a consultative capacity. But this makes it all the more essential that private bodies should continue to work in the international educational field. For the internationalism we need is ultimately not an internationalism of governments, but one of peoples. For private organizations, meeting together to investigate, to set new objectives and advocate new aims, children of a common vision and a

common hope, are the chief fertilizers of the future.

Wyatt Rawson.

**Reconstruction in the Secondary School.** Frank M. Earle.  
(University of London Press. 8/6).

The Principle of Kirkcaldy High School has performed a timely service in the production of this book, which includes an appendix giving an account of Mr. Earle's researches into 'Tests of Ability for Secondary School Courses' on which a report was published in 1936. His wide and varied experience, not merely as the head of a multilateral school, but as the Head of the Vocational and Educational Department of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology and as Professor of Education at Grahamstown, enable him to present the practical problems of school organization against a background of sound scholarship. We expect from him a clear statement of the difficulties involved in the reconstruction of the secondary school; an appreciation of the needs of individual children and of the necessary compulsions of a healthy group life; a scientific approach to the problem of differentiation of curricula and a clear statement of the school organization necessary to give effect to his proposals—and *he does not disappoint us.*

We have had too few experiments in multilateral schools; our judgment of their possibilities in this country has been largely based on experiments abroad in a different educational and social setting, and we are the more grateful for an account of the organization of his own school, which has been working on a multilateral plan for more than thirteen years. His description of the 'growing pains' of the new organism is of particular interest. Snobbishness of parents and the inflexibility of the academic tradition among some teachers proved the chief stumbling blocks. Of the latter he says, 'Teachers accustomed to the academic tradition seemed to find it difficult, perhaps because they had no strong desire, to adopt the wider point of view, and most of them, if their preferences could have been given full rein, would have occupied themselves entirely with the 'Certificate' pupils, leaving the 'other pupils' to the care of whoever wished to specialize in their problems. So long as this attitude exists among teachers, and so long as the idea continues to prevail that one form of promotion is to teach 'Certificate pupils' instead of the 'other pupils', the aims of the multilateral school will not be fully achieved' (p. 78).

In his opening chapter, 'A new order in Education', Mr. Earle stresses the need for the right incentives to educative activity ('if they are not interested, no educative activity can

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occur'); for an awareness of immediate purpose, and a right attitude towards the educational group. He shows the limitations of examination statistics as a criteria of the success of a school since 'the statistic gives no information about the attitudes of mind, the modes of thought, the ideals of conduct, the conceptions of duty and all those intangible, yet extremely valuable, influences which come from full and satisfying activities in a group where sympathy and effective co-operation replace drive and compulsion.'

In later chapters he discusses methods of testing at eleven plus for aptitude and attainment; the use and form of cumulative records; the grouping of children into convenient school units; the problems of multi-lateral organization; the need for flexibility of programme and individual consideration; education for employment and vocational guidance. All teachers will find the book stimulating; secondary school teachers will find it invaluable.

David Jordan

**Living with Music.** By David Barnett. (George W. Stewart, Inc., New York. \$1.50).

This short and interesting book opens with a brief account of the author's student days (on both sides of the Atlantic), his *debut* as a composer and pianist, and his decision to abandon a promising career as a performer to become a full-time teacher of music.

The purpose and value of these pages lies in the record they contain of David Barnett's experience as a music-teacher, working under ideal conditions at Wellesley College, and at the Thomas School, Connecticut. Here, it seems, not only pupils and graduates, but also their parents have become enthusiastic music-makers. The book contains, by way of illustration, not only specimen compositions of juniors, but also scores composed by a doctor and others who have caught the prevailing atmosphere of enthusiasm for all aspects of music-making.

The author bases his argument on direct experience. He argues eloquently for an increase of understanding of applied psychology to individual pupils, which he claims to be invaluable for the development of latent musical talent. Many will agree with him that there is a vast field of research to be explored in this direction. On the other hand, he finds the prevalent tendency to be guided by 'grades' and syllabuses detrimental to true individual progress.

There are stimulating suggestions—as, for example, the use of folk song as an ideal gateway into the realms

of musical composition, suitable particularly for classes.

These and other experiments are all placed on the basis of a long term policy, not only of creating music-makers for life out of students who show no special aptitude, but also having regard to the enormous potential value of music as an influence for good in the post-war world. (The author's plea for the enlightened teaching of the essential brotherhood of man at universities, and the spiritual values therein implied, provides another indication of the scope of music which is not always sufficiently recognised.)

Altogether an interesting 'documentary'. Mr. Barnett is to be congratulated on his achievements. Many of



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and set a good example  
by doing it yourself.



1. At the kerb HALT

2. EYES RIGHT

3. EYES LEFT

then if the road is clear

4. QUICK MARCH

Don't rush

Cross in an orderly manner

his colleagues will envy the ideal conditions which have made it possible for him to carry out so much that under present conditions, remain beyond reach of the vast majority of music-teachers.

C. le F.

**Max Weber and German Politics.** By J. P. Mayer. (Faber & Faber. 8/6).

This little book sets out 'to show some essential features of German politics as reflected through Max Weber's political sociology'. In a sense it does. It shows us the weaknesses of German liberalism. Here is an estimable and learned man who seems never to have questioned some of the major presuppositions of German traditional thought, the sort of presuppositions which have made it easy for Germans to accept National Socialism. At the same time his judgment in practical politics seems to have been very uncertain. It is, no doubt, useful for us to be warned against the good bourgeois German's postulates.

But the reader may well wonder why he should be told about this man at all. Competent judges say that Weber was a very distinguished sociologist. No evidence of special distinction appears in this book. It is unfair to Weber to introduce him to the English reading public without a fairly full account of his real work, especially since the bulk of his writings are not obtainable in English.

The author's English should have been pruned of German idioms and entanglements before the book was sent to the printer.

V. Ogilvie

## N.E.F. INTERNATIONAL

We have been asked to call attention to the following:—

Professor P. Vaucher (French Mission de l'Education Nationale) has recently returned from a visit to France, and will give an informal talk to members of the N.E.F. and friends on 'Education in France during the Occupation'. The meeting will probably be held on a Saturday afternoon in November or December. Anyone desiring details should send postcard to Miss Clare Soper, N.E.F., 50 Gloucester Place, W.1.



# Directory of Schools

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# THE NEW ERA

## IN HOME AND SCHOOL

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## The Democracy of Russia<sup>1</sup>

Pat Sloan, B.A.

Author of 'Soviet Democracy', 'How the Soviet State is Run', 'Russia Without Illusions', etc., etc.

PRIOR to June 22nd, 1941, when the Soviet Union became one of the United Nations, it was frequently portrayed as one of the 'dictatorship states', on a par with the régimes of Hitler and Mussolini. To-day, however, it is clear enough that the U.S.S.R. was always opposed to Fascist Dictatorship, and is playing a leading part in ensuring that Fascism, politically as well as militarily, is wiped off the face of Europe.

The main argument which was adduced, and is often heard even to-day, to support the contention that the Soviet Union could not be considered a democracy, was that in the U.S.S.R. there was only one political party, and that where there is only one political party there cannot be democracy.

Before proceeding further, it is well to point out that it is quite untrue to say that democracy, as such, depends on the existence of political parties. In fact, if we consider all the vast variety of democratic organizations which exist in the world to-day, those which elect their leaders by means of a 'party system' are a small minority.

Nobody would dream of suggesting, for example, that a trade union

was undemocratic because its executive committee was elected from among its members without an electoral fight between rival 'parties' within it. Nobody would suggest that in a co-operative society the management committee could only be democratically elected if several opposing 'parties' put forward rival candidates. In fact, in all democratic organizations *whose members have a common aim*, there is never any question of a 'party system' of election being necessary. On the contrary, it is considered desirable that members of executives, presidents, secretaries and so forth, should be elected as individuals, on their personal merits.

It is only in a very special form of democratic organization that democracy has hitherto been associated with the existence of political parties. This is the democratic capitalist state. But such a state is not an organization of people with a common aim. In such a state there are permanent and fundamental conflicts of interest between landlords, who are better off from a rise in rents, and tenants, who benefit from a fall in rents, or between employers, who benefit from a fall in wages, and workers, who gain from a rise in wages. Or

between big business monopolies, who gain from a restricted market and the cutting out of the small men, and the small men, whose interests are threatened by the monopolies.

It is in this particular type of organization, the capitalist state, which is the scene of such basically conflicting interests, that the 'party system' has become an expression of democracy. It follows that if, in any country, such a capitalist state with its conflicting interests could be replaced by a new type of state which eliminated the causes of such conflicts, then, as in trade unions and co-operative societies, a party system would no longer be necessary.

This is precisely the way in which the Soviet State differs from all other States in the world to-day.

Historically, the Soviet State came into existence as an organization of the workers, peasants and soldiers of Russia. The Soviets were democratically elected committees of factory workers, peasants and soldiers. The supreme authority of the Soviet State up to 1936 was the All-Union Congress of Soviets. This Congress consisted of delegates from district Soviets, in turn elected by local soviets. In

<sup>1</sup> A close and intelligent collaboration between ourselves, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is essential to European reconstruction. As Mr. Churchill said on his return from Moscow, the future of the world depends upon our united action during the next few years: 'If that fails, all fails. If that succeeds a broad future for all nations may be assured.'

The contribution of each of the great allies to the problem of European reconstruction will depend on their several interpretations of the idea of democracy as expressed in the framework of their political institutions. Herbert Agar helped us to understand the achievement of American democracy through American institutions. Pat Sloan fills in the picture for the U.S.S.R., showing that in many respects the Russians have implemented the democratic idea more fully than any of us. He makes a cogent answer to critics who complain that the U.S.S.R. is not a democracy but a dictatorship.—ED.



its structure the Soviet State was similar to a trade union in Britain, which has its branches, district committees, and supreme power vested in a periodical congress of elected delegates.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. makes it clear that the Soviet State is entirely different from all other States in the world: 'The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a Socialist state of workers and peasants' (Article 1). Note that those conflicts which we mentioned earlier, between landlords and tenants, employers and workers, monopolists and small producers, cannot exist. They can no longer exist because in the Soviet State there are no landlords, employers or monopolists. Therefore there can be no political parties of such social classes or groups.

True, two basic classes still remain: workers and peasants. But in the U.S.S.R. there is not a conflict, but a unity of interest, between these two classes. Both benefit from the increasing of production of both industry and agriculture. In fact, the whole economic life of the country is 'determined and directed by the State plan of national economy for the purpose of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural level of the toilers' (*i.e.* workers *plus* peasants), 'and of strengthening the independence of the U.S.S.R. and its power of defence'. (Article 2).

It is here clear that, both for workers and peasants, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. expresses a common aim, the maximum prosperity of all, consistent with effective defence. In such a country the aim of elections is not to decide whether or not there will be a Beveridge Plan or the nationalization of the mines; the aim of elections is to put the best people in positions of responsibility in order to improve the working of the already 27-year-old social insurance system which is as good as Beveridge, and to increase the output of the mines and of all the other publicly-owned industries, as rapidly as possible in the common interest.

As a result of this common aim of the whole Soviet people based on their common social function as workers and producers, there is no more place for a 'party system' than in a British trade union or co-operative.

How then, does it come about that there is one party, instead of there being no parties at all?

The reason is partly historical, partly practical. In 1917, when the Soviets first took over control in Russia, several parties participated in them. Very rapidly the Bolsheviks (Communists) won overwhelming support among the mass of the people. The members of the other parties at that time divided into two main groups: those who decided to throw in their lot with the rapidly growing Communist Party, and those who, seeing no future for their own parties under the Soviets, and in face of the widespread popularity of the Bolsheviks, linked up their forces with the armed foreign intervention, just as reactionary political groups all over Nazi-occupied Europe have in recent years become collaborationists. The Russian 'collaborationists' of 1917 to 1921 were outlawed by the State. Their parties ceased to exist. Hence only one vast popular party remained.

But the function of this Party was very different from that of the old type of parliamentary party. Ever since 1903 it had demanded that every member be an active member. It had demanded that in personal life as well as in public life, every member should be an example to the non-party workers and peasants. It had demanded energy and initiative, self-sacrifice and heroism from its members. And because they were working for a new type of State, the existing State subjected them to all forms of persecution and even martyrdom.

The Communist Party which emerged as the leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union was not to be compared with our British parliamentary parties. Every member had to be an exemplary working citizen, winning the respect of other non-party citizens, thus being the type of person naturally to be elected to positions of leadership and responsibility.

Clearly, so long as tremendous problems face the U.S.S.R., and they have faced her in peacetime as well as in war, and they will face her when this war is won, it would be reckless irresponsibility to dissolve such a 'vocation of leadership' as Sidney and Beatrice Webb have called it. Hence, in the U.S.S.R.,

the party system as we know it has been replaced by a system of government in which there is widespread popular democracy while the 'vocation of leadership' unites within the State the most socially conscious and politically active citizens.

The democracy which exists in the U.S.S.R. to-day is based on the following: Universal suffrage for both sexes at the age of 18; equal rights for citizens of every race and nationality; equal pay and equal chances of promotion according to ability as between men and women, and old and young; the right of electors to recall an unsatisfactory representative either from a local soviet or from the Supreme Soviet (Soviet Parliament); and the fact that every Soviet official from the local mayor to Marshal Stalin himself, is removable by those who elected or appointed him to his job.

But this broad democracy was only possible, in the first instance, as the result of a ruthless dictatorship over those who, from the very beginning, could play no part in the life of the Soviets. The Soviets came into existence as elected committees of workers, peasants and soldiers. Naturally, landlords and employers of labour could have no place in the soviets, which were 'working-class organizations'. Therefore, in the first Soviet Constitution it was explicitly laid down that only those who lived on income from work, together with students, soldiers and pensioners and the dependents of these categories, could vote or stand for election.

It was in this way that the Soviet State, as an organization of the working population, disfranchised the leisured classes in the first years of the Revolution. From the point of view of the disfranchised landlords whose land was nationalized, bankers whose banks were now public property, coal-owners and other industrialists who now had been forced to forfeit their property and political power, the new régime was a ruthless dictatorship. As Lenin wrote in 1917:

'Together with an immense expansion of democracy which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people and not democracy for the rich folk, the dictatorship of the proletariat produces a series of restric-



# THE U.S.S.R.

*J. W. Gregory, B.A., F.R.G.S., and D. W. Shave, M.Sc.*

The aim of this new book is two-fold—to present to the general reader a survey of the Soviet Union in relation to its geographical background, and to provide basic material for the student of geography. It fills the gap caused in serious geographical study of Russia by lack of information and by the language obstacle. The material in the main has been gathered from works actually published in the U.S.S.R.

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ons of liberty in the case of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no liberty, no democracy . . . Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, *i.e.* exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the modification of democracy during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism.'

When, in 1936, the new Constitution abolished all discrimination between workers and peasants, employers and employed, it was suggested in certain quarters that the U.S.S.R. was 'going back on' its earlier principles. As a matter of fact, however, the abolition of the disfranchisement of certain classes only followed the complete elimination of these classes from Soviet society. Absolutely universal suffrage was introduced in the U.S.S.R. in 1936 at a time when practically *all* citizens were themselves working for a living, or were students, soldiers or pensioners, or

were the dependents of one or other of these categories.

A number of other changes which have occurred in the U.S.S.R. of recent years may have, superficially, the appearance of a 'going back' to an earlier system. For example, from 1917 to 1944 there was co-education throughout the U.S.S.R. But now separate education for boys and girls under 18 is being introduced. Why the change?

During the period 1917 to 1944 one of the main aims of co-education was the establishment of complete economic, social and political equality between women and men. Without a long period of co-education it would have been practically impossible to break down the old restrictions on the economic, political and social activities of women.

But the very existence of a universal system of co-education made it possible, for the first time in history, to appraise the value of such a system on a mass scale.

Already in 1936 the author was talking with the head mistress of a secondary school in Kiev. On the question of co-education she hap-

pened to remark that one serious problem remained unsolved: 'At different ages boys and girls develop at different speeds. The result is that during the earlier phase the girls develop ahead of the boys, and the boys feel inferior. Then the girls stand still in their development and the boys develop rapidly.' Already in 1936 this problem was being discussed by Soviet teachers. In the decree abolishing co-education this fact is mentioned as one of the two main reasons for the change.

The second reason for the abolition of co-education is the difference in the natural functions of men and women, a difference which must continue to exist even under ideal social conditions of sexual equality. This, of course, is the fact that it is the women who must bear the children in a community, and therefore the education of girls must of necessity include matters which have no corresponding significance to boys. The differences in curricula, under which military subjects for boys will fill in those periods which are devoted to mothercraft for girls are based on the recognition of the physiological differences between the sexes which



no social system can hope to eliminate.

The new Soviet law relating to the family, which is the third great modification of the marriage law since 1917, is no doubt the result to a considerable extent of the vast losses in man-power suffered by the U.S.S.R. during the war. Since sex equality remains a basic principle of Soviet society, the encouragement of large families must take the positive form of encouraging women to bear children, and not the negative form of restricting in any way woman's right to play a part, if she wishes, in the life of the country as a producer and wage-earner.

Therefore the new decree in no way modifies women's rights in the economic, social and political life of the country. It does, however, greatly raise the social status of the mother. By means of increased family allowances, honours for motherhood such as could previously only be won by work or by military heroism, and by state support for the children of unmarried mothers, motherhood is given a series of encouragements previously lacking. It will be noted that the Soviet State favours unmarried motherhood as against spinsterhood, and the unmarried mother, in addition to the State support of her children—whether in her personal care or in an institution according to her own wish—enjoys all the social rights of all other Soviet women, including the special allowances for large families, and the right to be awarded the honours accorded to mothers of large families.

At the same time, and no doubt mainly as a result of the emphasis laid by educationalists on the need, wherever possible, of a normal family background, the new law strongly encourages lasting monogamous marriage as the normal basis of the family unit.

It has never at any time been the Soviet view that laws are anything but man-made. Therefore it has never been claimed in the U.S.S.R. that a law which is appropriate in one year will necessarily be appropriate to the situation existing ten years later. The basic principles which are fundamental to Soviet society, however, and which are contained in the Constitution, may be summed up as follows :

All organs of power are elected by direct and secret ballot by all citizens of the age of 18 and upwards. All such citizens may stand for election. Candidates must be recommended by one or more organizations of the people, not only the Communist Party, but by trade unions, co-operative organizations, general meetings in factories, cultural and youth organizations and so forth.

All the means of production in the country ; land, natural resources, transport, banks, industry and most of the farms, are public property. Individuals may, however, if they wish, work on their own as individual craftsmen or farmers, so long as they do not employ outside labour.

The economic life of the country is organized according to Plan, as mentioned earlier in this article.

Citizens are guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment was last known in 1931, after which it ceased to exist. Ever since the first Five Year Plan got into full swing the problem has been one of finding enough workers by hand and brain to do all the jobs universally recognized as necessary in the interests of the welfare of the people as a whole.

Citizens are guaranteed the right to leisure. In peacetime the average working day was reduced to less than seven hours, and every working man and woman received at least two weeks paid holiday annually. In dangerous occupations a month's paid holiday was provided. The laws relating to hours and holidays, however, have been suspended for the duration of the present conflict.

Security against health and old age are guaranteed, by means of a completely free health service, provided in state and municipal clinics and hospitals ; while old age pensions and sick pay are on a scale which is generous compared to anywhere in the British Commonwealth at the present time with the possible exception of New Zealand.

National equality is enforced by law in such measure that any form of national or racial discrimination is treated as a criminal offence. It is interesting to note that on the strength of this law alone, every form of Fascism has been impossible in the U.S.S.R. since 1917, and men like Oswald Mosley and Cap-

tain Ramsay could not enjoy liberty to-day in Russia.

Sex equality is enforced by law as has already been pointed out.

Education is guaranteed to all citizens. However, since the war a nominal fee (not amounting to more than 10 per cent. of the cost) has been introduced for secondary and higher education for all those whose standard of work does not reach a certain prescribed level. This modification was introduced at a time when greater manpower was required for rapidly developing industry, while the military call-up was reducing the number of male workers available. Technical and industrial schools were not subject to these charges, so that there was a direct encouragement to students either to reach a higher standard of work at secondary school or university ; or, alternatively, work their way through college ; or, as yet another alternative, switch over to a factory or industrial school to train for technical work. Such a modification can only be regarded in the light of what has previously been said of the transitory character of many Soviet laws, and therefore does not in any way invalidate the fundamental principle—the basic aim of Soviet education—of ultimately achieving universal elementary, secondary and finally, university education free of charge for all citizens.

Since, in the U.S.S.R., there are no class antagonisms between owners and workers, it would be true to say that the Soviet Union alone of all States, is united horizontally on class lines. All citizens are of the same class in the sense that all work for a living, whether as a collective farmer or road sweeper, or a marshal of the Red Army or a commissar.

Since, also, there are no national antagonisms, as a result of the strict enforcement of national equality both as between individuals and as between national republics—the Soviet State may be said to be united vertically, on the basis of nationality.

It is this dual unity which is responsible to a great extent for the remarkable achievements of the U.S.S.R. during this war, in spite of certain serious initial economic disadvantages as compared with Germany in 1941.

But if the U.S.S.R. is such a united country—the author is often



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asked this question—how did it come about that in 1936 and 1937, for example, there had to be such widespread purges of the State and political life of the country ?

The answer is that no country in the world is ideal for everybody. Particularly, no country is ideal for those who, having tasted power, find that their day is done and they can no longer command popular support. When, in Spain, the fascists found that their star was waning, they resorted to armed revolt with the help of Hitler and Mussolini. When, in France, democracy gave birth to the People's Front, the *cagoulaards* conspired with Hitler to blackmail the Popular Front Government out of existence. When, in all the European countries, certain sections of the ruling class had to choose between a popular and active democracy or Nazism, they chose the path of Quisling.

In the U.S.S.R. there were no landlords, bankers or business men to give rise to a Quisling movement in the 1930's. But there were a number of political 'have-beens' whose power and influence were on the wane and who had no hope of

a come-back on the basis of genuine popularity. To these individuals, personal power for themselves, and lack of faith in the existing leadership of the party and state, were their main preoccupation.

It was not difficult for such people to form, as Franco did in Spain, an alliance with all those who, for one reason or another, had motives for attempting the overthrow of the people's State. Mussolini and Oswald Mosley were both at one time 'Socialists'; Hitler still calls himself a 'National Socialist', and Trotsky first decided to call himself a 'Bolshevik' in the middle of 1917, when it was already clear that the future of the Russian Revolution must lie with the Bolsheviks. But in the 1930's the propaganda of Trotsky and the Trotskyists and of Hitler and the Hitlerites was in vital respects indistinguishable as regards the U.S.S.R. If their theory was similar, it is reasonable to suppose that their practice was not dissimilar. The Moscow trials demonstrated before the whole world the fact that Hitler's Quisling technique had been exposed in the U.S.S.R. Europe's fate would have been

very different if the Quislings and Francos had at that time been equally ruthlessly exposed, and the culprits equally ruthlessly punished, in the other countries of Europe.

The Constitution of no country in the world tells the whole story of how that country is, in fact, governed. In Britain there is no constitutional place for the Federation of British Industries or for the directors of the Big Five Banks; yet nobody can doubt but that through the Conservative Party they play an enormous part in influencing the policy of the Government. In the U.S.A. there is no constitutional recognition of the great trusts, yet their influence is felt in the leadership both of the Democratic and of the Republican Parties, though not in both to an equal extent at the present time.

In the U.S.S.R. there can be no federations of big businessmen; nor can there be directors of great privately owned profit-making banks. There are no private trusts or monopolies. But there are trade unions of workers, collective farms with a peasant membership, and the Government holds periodical



conferences with representatives of such bodies.

In recent years there have been nation-wide conferences, convened by the Government, of outstanding industrial workers, and of outstanding collective farmers. The model constitution for collective farms was adopted by the Soviet Government only after it had been drawn up by a conference of leading collective farmers. Both the new Constitution, and the previous draft of the marriage law, were adopted after nation-wide discussion in which all individuals and organizations were encouraged to express their views.

Much has been made in the British Press in the past of the fulsome tributes paid to Stalin in the Soviet press. To-day those tributes extend well outside the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. But to this day there is not another democratic leader in the world who has so firmly and consistently expressed his faith in the ordinary citizen as Stalin has done. There is perhaps no better way of concluding this article than by quotations from Stalin himself, showing how the recognized leader of the Soviet people himself regards the rôle of leader, and the rôle of those who are led.

The following quotations are from Stalin's speech of March 5th, 1937, where he dealt with problems of Soviet democracy and of leadership. . . . 'Some comrades think that people can only be checked up from above . . . by the results of their work. This is untrue. Checking from above is of course needed; but . . . there is also another kind of checking up—*checking from below, when the masses check up on the leaders*, . . . take note of their mistakes, and point out ways of correcting them. *Checking of this kind is one of the most efficacious means of checking up on people.*'

On the question of leadership itself he commented: 'We, the leaders, see things, events, and people only from one side, I should say, from above, and consequently our field of vision is more or less limited. The masses, on the other hand, see things, events, and people from another side, I should say, from below, and consequently their field of vision, too, is to a certain extent limited. In order to obtain the correct solution of the question, it is necessary to unite these two

experiences. Only thus will the leadership be a correct one.

'This is what is meant by not only teaching the masses but also learning from the masses.'

What other democratic leader in the world to-day has paid such a tribute to the need to listen to the voice of the masses of the people?

And as an example of how the ordinary person could be right while whole groups of leaders were wrong, Stalin recalled the case of a certain Comrade Nikolayenko, of Kiev:

'Who is Nikolayenko? Nikolayenko is a rank and file member of the Party; she is an ordinary "little person". For a whole year she had signalled about a wrong situation in the Party organization in Kiev, exposing the family atmosphere, the philistine approach to workers, gagging of self-criticism, high-handed action by the Trotskyite wreckers. She was shunned like a bothersome fly. At last, in order to get rid of her, they expelled her from the Party. Neither the Kiev organization nor the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine helped her to obtain justice. It was only the intervention of the Central Committee of the Party which helped to disentangle that twisted knot. And what was revealed by an examination of the case? It was revealed that Nikolayenko was right, while the Kiev organization was wrong. Nothing more nor less than that. And yet, who is Nikolayenko? Of course, she is no member of the Central Committee, she is no People's Commissar, she is not the secretary of the Kiev Province organization, she is not even the secretary of any Party cell; she is just a plain rank and file Party member.

'As you see, *ordinary people are found at times to be much closer to the truth than some exalted institutions.*'

From these extracts from one of Stalin's public statements it is quite clear that, while he is perhaps the most revered leader in the world to-day, he has a respect for the 'small man' or unimportant woman which has no parallel in other democratic states at the present time. No other great leader of the democratic states has so stressed the necessity to listen to the voice of the ordinary rank-and-file citizen.

This itself is answer to those who have in the past labelled Stalin a 'dictator'.

Finally, however, two points may be noted: First, in no other country of the world does the supreme Parliament consist entirely of men and women living on earnings from their work, and elected because of their outstanding record as workers for the community. Secondly, there is no other Army in the world in which the overwhelming majority of the Marshals and Generals are drawn from the ranks of those who live by their work; workers, peasants and professional people. Both these facts are evidence that the U.S.S.R. enjoys democratic features which are absent from our own system, features sufficiently important to place the U.S.S.R. within the category of the democratic States and clearly outside the realm of dictatorships.

To-day the united policy of the three great democracies, Britain, U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. is bringing about the defeat of Fascism in Europe. If these great powers can remain united in the post-war period as they have become in the process of winning the war, then lasting peace may be regarded as a certainty. The Soviet Union is interested in this lasting peace, not only because of its terrible losses in the past three years, but for far more fundamental reasons:

In the Soviet Union there are no armament firms who find war more profitable than peace. There are no workers who were jobless in peacetime and have needed a war to find them work. The national antagonisms which are a powerful subsidiary cause of war, and the racialism which leads to such antagonisms, are completely banished from the educational system of the Soviet Union. In peacetime the Soviet economic plan provides a rising standard of life for every citizen. Every Soviet citizen sees peace as a period of steadily increasing prosperity, war as an inferno of destruction, disaster and death. Therefore the Soviet people and Government are unanimous in their desire for permanent peace. For this reason the lasting co-operation of Britain, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and China, and the triumph of Democracy over Fascism, can indeed banish war from the world forever.



# Regression as a Disturbing Factor in Child Development

Dorothy Burlingham and  
Anna Freud

Extracts from the Monthly Reports of  
the Hampstead Nurseries, No. 40

IN our two booklets, *Young Children in War Time* and *Infants Without Families*<sup>1</sup> we have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the normal development of a child may be arrested or seriously interfered with whenever the outward circumstances of the child's life undergo a sudden and serious change. Not only do children cease to develop further for a while after such an experience, they even regress instead of progressing, *i.e.* they return to infantile habits and modes of behaviour which they had outgrown and apparently left behind for ever.

Such regression of development may concern the child's instincts only. Wherever this happens we see children revert from later phases of infantile sex development to earlier ones, from the first manliness of the nursery child to the aggression and dirtiness of a toddler, or even to the biting and sucking pleasures of an infant. Or the regression may concern the child's emotional relationship. Where this happens we see children lose their more adult, considerate and human attitudes towards adults and return to the egoistic exactingness of the small infant; or lose their human ties altogether and concentrate wholly on pleasures derived from their own body: masturbation, sucking, rocking and head knocking. Where, on the other hand, the process of regression extends to that part of the child's personality which we call its 'self' or 'ego', the child may lose all those acquisitions which have been made gradually under the influence of education: the child becomes dirty again where before it had acquired habits of cleanliness; it reverts to cruelty where it had learnt to restrain aggression, and pity its victims; it reverts to greed and lack of shame; and it loses whatever moral and ethical ideas it may have been on the point of building up.

Whenever we have described the process of regression in earlier reports, we have illustrated it with cases where changes in the child's life were made too suddenly, with-

out proper consideration for the child's feelings, and without allowing sufficient time for reactions. In dealing with new cases of this kind we now work out a process of 'separation in slow stages' so as to mitigate its consequences for the child. Though this has proved beneficial with children from 3 or 4 years onward, we have found that very little can be done to prevent regression where children between 1½ and 2½ are concerned. Infants of that age can stand sudden changes and separations of a day's length without any visible effect. Whenever it is longer than that they tend to lose their emotional ties, revert in their instincts and regress in their behaviour. Their developmental acquisitions are all the more easily shaken, the more short lived and therefore less stabilized they are.

The following case of a two-year-old, whom we admitted last March, may serve as a practical illustration of these theoretical remarks. In the case of this particular child it was possible to take nearly all the precautionary measures against undue shock which we had worked out while observing other cases. He was not torn away from his mother all at once but introduced to the nursery with her help and active co-operation. He was not pushed into a large nursery group without preparation but, at least for the first days, kept with a small number of children entrusted to the same young nurse. His mother lessened her visiting gradually so that there was no abrupt change; when she disappeared completely, she still kept her link with him alive with the help of parcels and messages. The complete separation from her lasted about two weeks only; and he returned home altogether after seven weeks. In spite of all these precautions and the fullest co-operation of mother and staff, the child went through a distressing period of regression, as described in the following detailed report.

Dr. Ilse Hellmann, who handled the case in her department, writes:

*'Bobby's previous history*

*'Bobby M. was the child of young*

and intelligent working class parents. His father, who is in the Army, was sent to India when Bobby was 18 months old and his mother pregnant with the next baby. On Bobby's second birthday in February of this year, the mother's home was badly damaged in a heavy raid on London: their windows were blown in and their ceilings brought down. Unluckily Bobby developed chicken-pox the day after, so that no one would shelter mother and child for fear of infection. The mother therefore managed to stay in the damaged premises until he had recovered. While he was still ill, she took the child in a pram on a daily round of enquiry to find some place where he might be cared for during the time when she would be in hospital for the birth of the new baby, then due in four weeks. After many fruitless attempts a social worker put her in touch with us, and we admitted the child as soon as he was non-infectious.

*'Bobby's state of development at the time of admission*

*'When Bobby came to us he looked the picture of health, and he seemed advanced in every respect when compared with many other children of the same age. His mother told us that he had always been an "easy" baby, sleeping well, enjoying his food, and that she had had very little trouble with his education so far. He was independent, having started to feed himself early, and his training in cleanliness had been completed at about 18 months as far as daytime was concerned. By pottling him late in the evening and early in the morning he had been dry at night for the last three months.*

*'Bobby spent the first afternoon and evening with his mother and a young aunt in a small room in the nursery and was keenly interested in the toys, using them cleverly and talking about what he saw in a jolly manner. His language development was especially advanced compared with that of our nursery children. His mother had a very charming way of dealing with him; she was most concerned to do whatever we thought best to help*

<sup>1</sup> See *The New Era*, May, 1942 and July-August, 1943.



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him to adapt, and although she lived far and was rather tired—only a few weeks before the arrival of the new baby—she immediately agreed to stay with Bobby until he was asleep, and to come and visit him as soon and often as possible within the first days. A young nurse who was to have charge of Bobby helped the mother on the first evening, and he was friendly with her. He fell asleep in the shelter without any difficulty, obviously tired out by the many new experiences.

*'Gradual weaning from his mother with first regressions*

'The next day he was very cheerful, played with two other children in a small room, as we wanted him to adapt himself very gradually to the large group in the nursery. Whenever he wanted something he turned to his nurse rather than to anyone else. His mother visited him daily during the first week. He was delighted to see her, did not specially cling to her, but played beside her, showing her all the toys, but cried a great deal when she had to leave. She had at first intended to continue coming in the late afternoon so as

to be there at bedtime, but as he could not settle down to sleep as long as she was there she came earlier after the first few days and left before he was in bed. He slept well except for the nights when there were air raids, and the sound of the siren and guns aroused great anxiety in him. Bobby was wet during the night from the beginning of his stay with us.

'When in the second week the long Underground journey became too difficult for the mother she decided to come only twice. At this time Bobby had his first "accidents" in daytime and was less active. While previously he had not minded the aggressiveness of many children in the group and had been able to hold his own without being too aggressive himself, he now started to whine a great deal, running to his nurse for comfort and at other times attacking other children himself. He started sucking his fingers in daytime.

*'Complete separation with loss of bowel and bladder control and general infantile behaviour*

'As her confinement was coming too near the mother stopped her

visits. She asked whether I thought sending Bobby parcels and picture postcards would help him over this time and promised to keep in touch with him in this way. When she had not visited him for several days Bobby changed a great deal. He became listless, often sat in a corner sucking and dreaming; at other times he was very aggressive. He almost completely stopped talking. He was dirty and wet continually, so that we had to put nappies on him. He sat in front of his plate eating very little, without pleasure, and started smearing his food over the table. At this time the nurse who had been looking after him fell ill, and Bobby did not make friends with anyone else, but let himself be handled by everyone without opposition.

'A few days later he had tonsillitis himself and went to the sickroom. In the quiet atmosphere there he seemed not quite so unhappy, played quietly, but generally gave the impression of a baby. He hardly ever said a word, had entirely lost his bladder and bowel control, sucked a great deal. On his return to the nursery he looked very pale and tired. He was very



unhappy after rejoining the group, always in trouble and in need of help and comfort. He did not seem to recognize the nurse who had looked after him at first.

'His mother had kept her promise and had sent many parcels and pictures which she had drawn for him herself. Bobby understood that they came from her, brightened up whenever he was given one, but seemed to lose the cards very quickly.

'The change he had undergone during these few weeks was very striking, and the mother was worried when she saw him for the first time. She visited him as soon as possible after the birth of the baby—on the eleventh day. Bobby seemed to take her first visit in a matter-of-fact way, neither pleased nor upset. He sat next to her, played with her as before. He was quite desperate when she left. Ten days later the mother took him home for good.'

*Mother's first report after Bobby's return home. Appearance of air raid shock*

Three weeks after the birth of the baby the mother very courageously undertook the task of taking complete charge of both children with a simultaneous attempt to clear up and put in order a ground-floor flat underneath the one she had been bombed out of before. She herself carted bucket-loads of glass and broken slate from the backyard to a nearby dump while workmen all around were busy with the rubble. She described in a letter Bobby's state, which is an instructive mixture of the combined effects of belated air raid shock, reaction to separation and jealousy due to the birth of the new baby.

Extract from mother's first letter:

'Bobby, I am sorry to say, is not very well. He has tonsillitis again, and has eaten nothing

since Sunday. He also has terrible nightmares, and seems to go almost mad for a bit, and screams and throws himself about. He is afraid too, and always screams if someone knocks at the door or rattles anything. When he was standing outside the other day and the workmen threw some rubble on the pile, I thought he would go into a fit almost, he was so frightened. The doctor at the Welfare said she thought he probably has some sort of memory of the bombing, as it is the same house, and this flat is exactly the same as the top floor where we were.

'Also, Bobby is worried when I feed the baby, and once or twice has cried and said "And me." Apart from that, though, he seems pleased with the baby, and strokes his hair and kisses him good-night, and gives him pencils to play with! It is a pity he should be not well again, because he seemed to get on so the first week, and was getting fat and rosy cheeked again. Still, I expect he will soon find out that things are alright in spite of everything.'

*Readaptation to home life. Improvement in cleanliness*

Extract from mother's second letter a fortnight later:

'When I wrote a fortnight ago Bobby was not at all well. Now however he has picked up, and is very well in every way. He is fat again and his cheeks are rosy. He is really happy, I think, and laughs and enjoys himself all the time. The nightmares have stopped and the fears have disappeared, except that he is still afraid of falling and of dogs. I cannot understand why he is afraid of dogs. His behaviour towards the baby is far less hostile and he is now inter-

ested in the baby's hair, eyes and legs and wants to pick him up and play with him. He is also much improved in cleanliness; we have not had a wet bed for a week. He eats enormously.

'The difficulties that still remain are sucking fingers, putting anything and everything into his mouth, telling people to go away, sometimes for apparently no reason, and destructiveness. He will sometimes deliberately tear a book, and pull the leaves from bushes. However, apart from this he seems to be getting on well, talking a great deal and doing a great many things every day.'

To sum up once more. The combined efforts of the mother and the nursery were unable to spare Bobby the consequences of his threefold traumatic experience: bombing, breaking up of home life and arrival of the new baby. He reacted to the first of these experiences with anxiety symptoms of various kinds, to the last one with very natural jealousy and some aggressiveness. The bulk of his symptoms consisted of regressions: return to destructiveness and sucking; undoing of bowel and bladder control; loss or diminishing of the new faculty of speech; lessening of emotional contact with the outer world; states of dreaminess with withdrawal into himself.

Further reports from the mother will show how much time is needed to do away with the last remnants of these symptoms and to start the child once more on a path of progressive development.

If our efforts combined with those of the mother were unable to prevent this abnormal phase in the child's development, they at least were able to minimize the harmful effects as much as possible and to prevent the child from getting firmly fixed to any one of the above mentioned symptoms.

## Tony and His Secret

TONY's problems have recurred repeatedly in our reports<sup>1</sup> since his admission to the Country House in September, 1941. In the last detailed account of his development his problems seemed very near their solution. The symptoms for which he had been

sent to us (bed wetting and a lack of emotional response) had disappeared. He had formed a warm and personal relationship with the sick nurse, Sister Mary, and he had developed a deep and loving attachment to his father, whom he adored unrestrainedly. These two attachments helped him to overcome the loss of his mother, who

**Extract from the 36th Monthly Report of the Hampstead Nurseries**

had died after a severe illness. Our last report of him ended with the news that Tony's father was engaged to marry a very charming young woman and had introduced her to the child as a future mother. Tony seemed to like her very much, and all his plans and wishes turned towards the pleasant prospect of a new 'home' after the war, with

<sup>1</sup> See 'Tony', *New Era*, Vol. 23, p. 126; 'Tony and His Father', *New Era*, Vol. 24, p. 21.



parents of his own, as in the old times which he still remembered.

During and after this period he showed improvement in various directions, above all in a greater independence of his mother substitute, Sister Mary. He was able to do with less signs of affection, and his behaviour in the evenings, which had always been the times when he was most demanding, changed considerably. He ceased to be fussy about his bath, and instead of begging Sister Mary to stay with him until he fell asleep, he sent her away himself. He would say after a short talk with her: 'Mary, now you go and have your supper; you can stay away a long time. Go quickly to bed if you are tired, just come and look at me before you go to bed. Now go, I'm going to sleep.' He would fall asleep quickly and peacefully. His general interests at this time widened. He formed firm friendships with other boys, and took active part in all the occupations offered by the nursery, the workshop and the garden. On the basis of his great admiration for his father's strength and manliness, he was apt to form similar relationships to other boys who were stronger or bolder than he was. He imitated and obeyed them to the point of being easily led into mischief by them. He was eager to enter school and did so even before he had reached the compulsory age.

His development might have proceeded on these comparatively peaceful lines if fate had not had another shock in store for him, which threatened once more to unsettle his hardly won stability. In the middle of April, 1943, Tony's father appeared unexpectedly. Tony ran downstairs to meet him, but suddenly stopped dead in his tracks, when he realized that his father was accompanied by a strange woman. His father greeted him as always and added immediately: 'Go and kiss your Mummy.' This was all the notice and explanation Tony received of a complete change of plan in the father's, and consequently also in Tony's life. The father had married this woman a few days previously and they both came to visit the child during his remaining leave. Neither of them seemed to expect anything but pleasure on Tony's part, and they were astonished when he suddenly

burst into tears. He soon controlled himself and, with his usual obedience towards his father's wishes, greeted the new mother and silently sat beside her. He even went so far as to laugh about his father's jokes and, by the time they left, seemed to have regained his usual cheerfulness.

As a result of this experience Tony regressed to many of his former habits and became once more clinging and dependent on Sister Mary. After the parents had gone, he succeeded in expressing his disappointment clearly. He said at bedtime: 'Mary, I don't want this Mummy, I want my Daddy to myself. My Daddy said once that he is going to make me a new Mummy, but he has not made this one.' In the following days he became very troubled and unable to express himself. He would say whenever he met Sister Mary in the house: 'I want to tell you something,' 'I want to tell you something,' But when asked what he wanted to tell, he could not think of anything, and only said: 'I want to give you a kiss', or: 'I want to go on the lavvy', or 'I'm hungry'. He developed a rather frightening habit of slipping down on the floor ever so often. He would call out: 'Mary, I'm falling, I'm falling, pick me up'. Or 'I want to be your baby, carry me around'. He refused in this period to work in our nursery school, saying: 'I want to be silly. I want to be a baby'. Longing for

his father alternated with the expression of negative feelings. He would ask innumerable times: 'When does my Daddy come', and say a few minutes later: 'I don't want him to come at all'; or 'Mary, you can have my Daddy and my Mummy', 'I don't want this Mummy'. The new mother had brought him chocolate as a present. He offered Sister Mary some, saying: 'Here, Mary, I give you a sweet from my Mummy'. The sweets which his father used to bring, he had always kept jealously for himself.

A second short visit by the parents took very much the same course and, though outwardly more successful, brought little change in the child's behaviour.

During the summer months which followed Tony seemed to digest his new experiences very slowly. He was invited 'home' on his father's next leave and went apparently willingly and with great expectations. He returned, pale and rather difficult in his behaviour and unable to communicate anything about his experiences. He became more quiet again, and after a short while resumed his evening conversations about his father as in former times, without mentioning his stepmother. He joined again in all the children's interests and conversations. One evening, in a very troubled mood, he wanted Sister Mary to tell him when the war would be over and whether he would then go home. When told

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**Further particulars may be obtained from the Tutor, Mental Health Course, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London, W.C.2., where the Course will be held.**



no one could foretell the exact date but that he would surely return home at the end of the war, he said: 'But somebody told me that lots of soldiers will be dead when the war is over, and then my Daddy will be dead too and where shall I go home then?' He cried and cried and could not be comforted.

During the autumn months, when he began to go to school, his development progressed again and we hoped that he had once more become more settled. But these good times did not last and, though he seemed perfectly all right during the day, he developed regular disturbances during bath and bed time. He did not want other children to be bathed before him; he dragged out his own bath endlessly, but cried when consequently he was late for supper. He demanded to be carried down to his supper, but did not like anything that was put on his plate. He seemed hungry but unable to eat, did not touch his supper and asked for bread before going to sleep. He developed an endless ritual of saying 'good night' to Sister Mary, calling her back from the door over and over again and not looking at her when she was beside his bed. When asked what it was that he really wanted, he would only say: 'I am tired'. Once at such a time he asked unexpectedly: 'Do I grow small or big?' When told that he would grow to be a big boy he answered:

'I want to be a baby'. About this time he once said to the night nurse: 'You know when I was a baby I was ever so good'. A few days later, when all the children wrote letters, he wrote a letter to his father, which began: 'Dear Daddy, I am good'.

The night nurse reported that he called her to his bed regularly in the middle of the night asking her questions like the following: 'Where is Mary?' 'Has she gone away?' 'Why does she go to bed so early?' 'Did she look at my face before she went to bed?'

The same ritual, with its difficulties, then extended to his leaving for school. He suddenly asked Sister Mary to 'take me to the gate of the drive and say good-bye'. When she did it, he repeated his bedtime behaviour down to the last detail. Unable to say good-bye, he stood there stiffly until it was late for school. When at last made to go he cried despairingly: 'I don't want to go to school. I did not say good-bye to my Mary'.

Sister Mary's attempts to find a reason for this disturbing and so far unexplained behaviour, remained unsuccessful until the last week, when suddenly Tony opened up in the following way. Sister Mary had invited him to have supper in her room, and in the course of a conversation asked him to tell her why he cried so often. He first evaded the question and talked about school. Then he asked to sit on her lap and sleep.

After a silence of ten minutes he suddenly said: 'Mary, I have a baby in my home'. Sister Mary thought that he was referring to his aunt's baby and asked for details. Tony said: 'No, it is my baby and the baby of my Mummy and my Daddy. It is like Valerie' (the youngest child of the Country House, about 2 years old) 'and it says to Mummy, "Mum," and to my Daddy, "Dad", and my Daddy says I have to share my Daddy with my baby and, Mary, is Daddy still my very own Daddy?' He added further: 'My Granny is keeping my baby because my Mummy is always working and her name is Rosy.'

This piece of news was so surprising that we doubted for a while whether it was more than a phantasy of Tony's, namely, an expression of his jealousy, of his fear that a child of the new marriage might deprive him of his father's love. But somehow it did not sound like a phantasy. Tony's account of the baby, its age, its behaviour and its position in the family seemed precise and real.

Tactful inquiry on the next Parents' Sunday, when Tony's aunts appeared as visitors, brought confirmation of his story. The baby is a reality, and the fact of its existence, or Tony's discovery of its existence, contains the key to the understanding of his difficulties in the last six months. Warned by his parents, he had kept this, for him overwhelming, experience secret to himself during all this time, unable to communicate it and instead forced to express it by means of highly disturbing behaviour. After he had succeeded in telling his secret, he was able to follow up the first conversation in further talks with Sister Mary. This brought him great relief and, in the course of the next few weeks, his behaviour slowly turned back to normal.

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## Book Reviews

**Re-Educating Scotland**, edited by Naomi Mitchison, Robert Britton and George Kilgour. (Published by Scoop Books Limited, Glasgow, for Scottish Convention. Price 1/6).

This 48-page booklet is a statement put forward by the Education Committee of Scottish Convention, and professes to tell the reader what is



wrong with Scottish Education and how the system should be improved. Its point of view is that of the intelligent layman whose thinking on educational questions is not hampered by undue respect for traditions and existing practice, and its criticisms are severe and outspoken. Yet the authors, whose generalisations are often too sweeping, fail to do justice to the progressive tendencies that are now manifesting themselves in the schools and higher institutions. One doubts, too, whether they are justified in their belief that the views represent the general opinion of enlightened and intelligent Scots about education in their country. Not all Scots, for example, would agree that our secondary education is extremely bad and that we should be thoroughly ashamed of it.

In the course of a good but brief discussion of primary education the root causes of the deficiencies are found to lie in the size of classes and in the control examination. These are certainly two important factors, readily revealed by a superficial diagnosis; but for the real root cause we have to probe deeper. It is probable that the defects here, as in the other stages, are due to a failure to realize the true aims in the education of the infant, the child and the adolescent. As far as the size of classes is concerned their remedy is clear; and they would remove the evils of the control examination by replacing it by intelligence and attainment tests. They are, however, not unduly confident about the effectiveness of their remedy, for they deplore the fact that teachers can and do cram for these tests in much the same way as for ordinary examinations.

The curriculum proposed for secondary schools deserves careful consider-

ation; but one would have expected that their own suggested reforms would have made them more sympathetic to the multilateral school, a system which they find themselves unable to recommend as a general educational policy.

The Universities receive their full share of criticism. They are too academic, too much cut-off from the life of the community; they produce an elite which is sometimes as narrow-minded as any village kirk-session. In fact, one gathers the impression that they are the home of all that is out of date and reactionary in education. Yet they are to take over the training of teachers who are to inspire the system with new educational life.

The work is challenging and stimulating, containing much with which every enlightened educationist would agree; and it forms a useful contribution to the literature of educational reconstruction. *William McClelland*

**U.S.S.R. in Maps and Diagrams, prepared by Pictorial Charts Unit in consultation with G. J. Cons, M.A. Trade Distributors, University of London Press. (Price 21/: the set of 7, or separately 3/6 each).**

These five wall-maps and two diagrams, size 40 in. by 30 in., are beautifully clear, simple and well-coloured, and are a most helpful adjunct to class-teaching on Soviet Russia—still probably of all quarters of the globe the least well-known in British schoolrooms, and yet often amongst older children the most clamorously enquired about.

The first map shows natural vegetation, tundra, coniferous forest, and the like, with a small relief map inset in one corner. In all the maps only the principal rivers are shown, and some, like the Donetz and the Dniester made famous by the war news, are entirely omitted. This is in the main perhaps a good thing and an aid to clarity, but it is a pity that the set does not contain a full-sized physical map showing mountains and all the rivers.

The most attractive map is that showing agriculture and fur-bearing animals, where the belts of sugar beet, flax, wheat and cotton, and the widespread habitats of ermine, sable, fox and hare, are shown in charming and easily memorable picture form.

Another map shows the chief towns and their industries, together with the mineral deposits of gold, coal, iron, petroleum and manganese, and gives a graphic idea of the infinite industrial potentialities of the U.S.S.R.

Another shows communications, railroads and air-routes, and giving, in the case of rivers and canals, the number of ice-free days in the year. A very interesting inset shows the polar air routes of the future.

The diagram-picture of a typical collective farm is well done and will be eagerly studied by children.

Last, there is a very clear political map giving National and Administrative divisions, and a diagram of Government showing how the town or country worker elects first his own local soviet, then that of his republic or region, and finally the Supreme Soviet of the Union, together with the various functions allotted to each. These last aid considerably in the understanding of the vast complexity of a system which sets out to govern a huge, widespread and infinitely diverse population without violating the wishes or the national traditions of any of its component units. *J. W.*



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# ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Bulletin No. 22  
December 1944

Edited by David Jordan,  
20 Dorchester Avenue, Palmers Green, N.13

## HOME AND SCHOOL IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

A few months ago, Dr. Crowley, whose work for the Home and School Council is well known to our members, visited the Executive Committee of the E.N.E.F. to urge the need for arousing a greater interest among parents in the education of their children. One suggestion was that the relations between Home and School might be made the subject of a bulletin; a suggestion which we gladly accept because of the increasing number of parents who attend our own branch meetings, and because the changes likely to be brought about by the Education Act will make co-operation between parents and teachers increasingly necessary. It is not merely a matter of devising new methods of procedure but of creating new attitudes. We need many more teachers. To secure them the teaching profession must be made more attractive. The Burnham Committee is busy negotiating a new and better scale of salaries, but salary increases alone will not be enough. Parents must recognise that the work of the teacher is not less important and responsible than that of the doctor, and to enhance its status teaching must be appreciated as an important form of social service. There are still many parents who look upon the school solely as an instruction centre, and who have not realised that it now provides milk bottles as well as ink pots, school meals as well as text books, and that the Education Act makes possible the addition to the list of clothing and boots. The functions of the school are broadening in scope, and even within the narrower limits of school work new methods of approach and the addition of new subject matter have so changed the nature of school work that parents who generalize about schools from their own experience do modern education far less than justice.

### Family Problems : 1. Evacuation and the Blitz

While the school has to assume new responsibilities in the post-war

world, the Family has to resume its old responsibilities in a changed situation. There are few homes which will have been unaffected by the impact of war conditions, and in many cases the changes the war has brought have been so fundamental and have continued for so long that a return to pre-war conceptions of family life will be not merely difficult, but may in some cases prove to be impossible. Consider the effects of evacuation and the blitz. Some children have been away from their parents and home for upwards of four years, and may have had to adapt themselves to a completely different type of family life. Some have enjoyed the amenities of civilized living for the first time in their experience, and may now have to return to cramped conditions, a house with no hot water system or adequate sanitary arrangements, no opportunity for privacy or space for leisure activities, and to a home with an entirely different code of social behaviour. Moreover, the child who left home at ten years of age is now fourteen. Parents who have not seen him develop and mature and adjusted their minds accordingly may be looking for the return of the child they knew, and will find in his place an apparently incalculable being who demands an unheard of measure of independence, criticizes the conditions of life which he once accepted, and finds it difficult and is extremely reluctant to fit once again into the family pattern of life. In areas which have suffered badly from the blitz the problems of family readjustment will be further complicated. Some families have been uprooted from their old neighbourhood, a factor which is most serious for the poorer classes whose sense of security and stability is to be found in neighbourly contacts rather than in the possession of property.

Even families whose houses are still habitable may be affected by the removal of neighbours, and by the depression associated with residence in a neighbourhood which has suffered much destruction. A

journey round the badly blitzed areas, with their mournful rows of dreary shambles which once were homes, will convince any objective observer that our picture is not overdrawn and that while we find it difficult to assess the psychological effects of environmental dreariness there can be no doubt of their sociological significance.

### Family Problems : 2. Parental adjustments

Apart from the readjustment of parent to child the family may well be seriously affected by the more difficult readjustment of the parents to each other. The grim necessities of war have uprooted men from their family background and have placed them for a prolonged period in circumstances gravely damaging to the maintenance of their old outlook and scale of values. Segregation for several years in a mainly masculine society is in itself an experience which must leave its mark upon the individual, who in any case has been conditioned by army attitudes, by the pressure of immediate necessities, and by the orgy of destructiveness which modern war involves. Individual men will be affected in varying ways and in various degrees, but no one can pretend that the man who returns home can be exactly the same person as he to whom his wife bid Godspeed five years before. Absence may make the heart grow fonder, but it does not make understanding easier, and many will suffer through their failure to recognize that time has brought changes and that their primary need is rediscovery rather than recapitulation. The delicate fabric of human relations cannot be woven afresh by picking up the old threads; new threads must be spun from the raw material of present experience, snapped threads must be patiently joined, warp and weft must perilously interchange, and the emergent pattern of family life gradually reveal itself as a thing of balance and harmony or of ugly shapes, tawdry colours, and ragged edges.



So far we have mainly stressed the problem of readjustment in terms of possible changes in the returning husband and father, but it would be unwise to leave out of account the way in which the war situation has affected wives and mothers. Many of them have been in 'gainful employment' for the first time since marriage; a practice which would once have caused social disapproval had brought social esteem and an enhanced self respect through its contribution both to the family income and to the national effort. The relatively isolated work of the home has been replaced by the gregariousness of the shop, the office, and the factory, and many women may return to the once accepted routine with reluctance and a smarting sense of self-abnegation. It may be that the family pattern of the future will include at least part-time work outside the home for many women, but during the transition period the resultant clash of views may tend to undermine the sense of stability and security which is the chief contribution of a good family to its members.

### Psychological Needs in the Home

Dr. Colsell Sanders, in an unpublished thesis on 'The Psychological Needs of Children and their relation to behaviour', says that 'in our modern civilization every child is required to face up to a series of social situations of ever increasing complexity, and his success or otherwise in facing these situations appears to have a considerable bearing upon his mental as well as upon his physical health. Moreover, if the child is to develop in a normal way he needs to adjust himself not only to the material conditions but he must learn to respond satisfactorily to those psychic forces and tensions which are frequently set up in any close association of human beings such as the family group provides'. Satisfactory adjustment within the family group is therefore deemed to be essential for the mental and physical well-being of the child. An American writer expresses the same idea when he says, 'The feeling of his worth develops in the child with the security he enjoys in the family and the self-control he attains through firm confidence in a basic acceptance of his person.'

Psychologists appear to agree that the resolution of 'psychic tensions' is only made possible for the child through a feeling of acceptance and of security. In spite of the ups and downs of family life, the family group should provide a secure base from which the child can venture forth and make his tentative voyages into the wider world. But we have tried to show that the war situation must in many cases make it difficult, if not impossible, for the family group to carry out this necessary function. The disturbing influences of social change no less than the need for individual re-discovery on the part of parents, must for a considerable time pre-empt the success of the family unit in this direction.

### Psychological Needs in the School

In the transition stage in family, social and industrial life which must follow the war a graver responsibility than usual will be placed upon the school. It must play a larger part than ever before in providing a satisfactory form of group life in which success in some direction can be secured by every child, for success is necessary for the building up of self acceptance and self confidence. It must bring children into contact with adults whose behaviour is not dictated by personal whims and fancies but by understandable and consistent principles. It must exercise discipline through the objective compulsions of an orderly group life, by virtue of social necessity and not the arbitrary will of individual authority. It must provide opportunity for the exercise of individual freedom and initiative within the framework of a stable society, and allow its pupils to make social mistakes as a part of their educational experience. It must regard assisting its pupils to develop and mature emotionally and socially, as not the least of its functions, and must leave behind once and for all the old and narrow view that the *chief* business of the school is to see that children acquire particular forms of knowledge. As the whole is greater than the parts, so the development of the total personality is more important than the achievement of particular skills or even passing examinations, and it is in these wider terms that education must be conceived. More-

over, there is some evidence that unsatisfactory adjustment at school has an overshadowing effect upon the child's social and emotional adjustment in the home and elsewhere. The school must be prepared to accept its wider social responsibilities if it is to make its proper contribution to the development of children and the rehabilitation of the family and the social life of the neighbourhood.

### Existing Contacts between Home and School

Apart from the immediate and we hope, temporary difficulties associated with the post war situation, we need to do some re-thinking about the existing inadequate means of contacts between home and school. In many cases school masters will point out that the parent can always visit the school if he so desires. This is perfectly true, but although the school door may be open it is not usually an invitation, and not infrequently parents only call at the school if they wish to get something put right. The resulting visit can hardly produce good relations between home and school. This is much more true of the Junior and Senior School than of the Infant and Nursery School, in which informal contacts are made when the small child is taken to school by a parent. It is an increase in informal contacts rather than in formal occasions which we need and it is extremely important that the parent should be able to contact the persons who actually teach their children; so often at the Senior and Secondary stage parents can never get beyond the Headmaster's room. Most schools have at least an Annual Open Day or Speech Day to which parents are invited, but contact on such occasions is on a very formal plane on which it is very difficult for parents and teachers to meet as ordinary human beings. Not the least virtue perhaps of our own E.N.E.F. branches is that they do provide a common meeting ground for all who are interested in the educational problems of our day, but their work needs to be supplemented by teacher-parent associations in connection with particular schools on the lines advocated by Dr. Crowley in the article which follows.



# Building Up a Democracy from the Foundations<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Ralph H. Crowley

Acting Chairman,  
Home and School Council<sup>1</sup>

It is good to know that our E.N.E.F. is actively interesting itself and its members in this extension of the home into the school and of the school into the home. The arousing of interest in the need to lay soundly this great social and educational foundation was due originally to the New Education Fellowship. It was Mrs. Ensor who was primarily responsible for the launching of the Home and School Council of Great Britain. It is useless now to regret that the E.N.E.F. did not build into its own foundations this great enterprise of parent-teacher co-operation. The Fellowship had, however, a task sufficiently great on its hands of humanizing the school and the school curriculum, of studying afresh the child and its needs, of securing a right relationship between teacher and child, and of developing fresh methods of presentation of the various subjects of the school curriculum.

But we now know that the attainment of these ends is not enough. By keeping our attention fixed upon the school and upon education within the school building, we can never provide for the education in living which should be the first call on the practice of education as designed for the child and adolescent at each stage, right through the great developmental period from the earliest years up to eighteen years and beyond. Such development must be through the home and family life, the school life, the social life, the industrial life. These must not be thought of as compartments of life, or the life of the child and adolescent will be episodic. Hence the great task in front of the community is to provide for the integration of the life of the child and of youth. To this end we must keep ever before us life in its wholeness as unfolded and developed through intellect, emotion and will. Knowing, feeling and doing must minister to the great end of *being*. We must not think we can leave what is often called the spiritual life of the child to the Churches or what we term religious

instruction. To synthesize is the function of religion. Nothing short of this synthesis must be the aim and practice of the school and the college.

And how can we in the first place foster this development of the whole life of the child better than through linking up the home and the school? To be effective this has to be thorough, and we cannot be surprised that head teachers, especially perhaps at the present time with many and varied duties on their hands, should hesitate before they add so materially to their burdens. What we ask is nothing less than that the school should become to the parent *our* school, not merely a building to which they send their child. This, too, is important alike for the teacher as for the parent. So long as the school was looked upon as the place where the child went to be instructed in the subjects of the school curriculum represented by little more than the 3 Rs, there was little point, unless the child was a nuisance, in the meeting of parent and teacher. The teacher in instruction is self-sufficient. But a wider view of education obtains to-day. The teacher is finding that the emotional life of the child may be of prime importance, especially as the child grows into the adolescent and the school life is prolonged. There is far closer association between the intellectual and the emotional life than we have been accustomed to acknowledge. The secret of these difficulties in emotion and behaviour may be either in the home or in the school or more probably in both. An intimate knowledge of the life of the child at home and at school becomes imperative therefore for parent and teacher alike.

Experience shows that most teachers will find that in order to link up effectively the home and the school a definite parent-teacher association or its equivalent will be advantageous. The head teacher will act as president, in fact if not in name, and a parent is likely to act as secretary. This is not the place to outline even the many and varied functions of such an association. The first thing that becomes clear is what a fruitful field one has for the very type of education

for which so many parents feel the need. Here the opportunity is afforded for meeting with and for discussion with the school staff, the school doctor, dentist, oculist and other specialists, the school nurse and health visitor, the school psychologist, the welfare worker, the school administrator, the representatives of municipal undertakings, of industry and commerce; for taking an active part in entertainments, social functions and school sports; for the payment of visits to municipal undertakings, factories, and farms; for editing, perhaps, a school magazine; for sharing in the provision of amenities for the school; and in many other ways.

And shall we not find here the very roots of democracy? Democracy is not primarily a method of government but a way of life in which the people walk. The life of a community must always *become*: it cannot be imposed. It requires practice from the simplest forms of association upwards. The natural place to begin is in the home and the school. When once child, parent and teacher walk in step there will be little difficulty in developing life, on its many sides, within the community. Only in such a way can community centres, of which just now we hear so much, grow.

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<sup>1</sup> For further information please write to G. A. Hayward, Esq., Hon. Sec., Home and School Council of Great Britain, Marrington Hall, Chirbury, Montgomery.



# E.N.E.F. News Items

THE first of a series of E.N.E.F. pamphlets was published a short time ago, on *The Social Approach to the Curriculum*, by Catherine Fletcher, Principal of Bingley Training College. 'Social awareness', says Miss Fletcher, 'has at least developed so far that a growing minority are prepared to recognize that questions concerning children's education cannot be questions concerning their schooling alone, but must also concern parents, homes, nature of living conditions, food, neighbourhoods, the nature of industry and agriculture and of leisure activities.' In the light of this sociological approach the pamphlet discusses 'a tentative framework for the curriculum of the secondary schools which will satisfy the common needs of society and adolescents in terms of a democracy which bases itself on the principles of individual evaluation and co-operation.' The pamphlet is sixpence, and we hope, not merely that individual members will send for copies to the E.N.E.F. office (including postage), but that branches will co-operate in giving it a wide sale.

## The Christmas Conference

The subject of the Conference to be held in co-operation with the Conference on Democratic Reconstruction in Education at the City Literary Institute, Drury Lane, London, W.C.2, from December 28th to 30th, is 'The New Secondary School'. Mr. E. W. Woodhead, Chief Education Officer, Kent, will act as Conference Chairman, and the speakers will be Mr. G. J. Cons, Lecturer, University of London, Goldsmiths' College; Mr. H. H. T. Glover, Headmaster, Sheffield Junior School of Art; Dr. Grayson Kefauver, of the American Embassy; Mr. H. Raymond King, Headmaster, Wandsworth School, London; Miss Deanna Levin, author of 'Children in Soviet Russia'; and Professor F. J. Schonell, University College, Swansea.

The Conference is planned to attempt answers to the question—why is reconstruction at the secondary stage necessary and what form

shall this reconstruction take? It is proposed to have general discussions after each talk as well as daily group discussions. The Conference fee is 10/- for members of the C.D.R.E. and/or E.N.E.F.; 12/6 for non-members and E.N.E.F. branch members (this includes 2/6 non-returnable booking fee). Enquiries should be sent to the Organizing Secretary, 74 Earlham Road, Norwich.

## The E.N.E.F. Annual General Meeting

During the course of the Conference, probably on Saturday, December 30th, the Annual General Meeting of the E.N.E.F. will be held. All full members of the E.N.E.F. are entitled to attend, and it is to be hoped that as many as possible will do so. Notices convening the meeting will probably be sent to members before the publication of this bulletin, together with the voting papers for the 1945 executive committee. We take this opportunity of stressing once again the need for individual members to return their voting papers promptly. Next year will be one of vital importance for education, and if the E.N.E.F. is to play its proper part in shaping things to come it must be served by an executive which is representative of the outlook of the general membership, and which will accept the responsibility implied in the acceptance of nomination to the executive.

## Correspondence

### The Government of Secondary Schools

Mr. L. Bradley, Headmaster of Derby School, writes: 'I feel I must take up one or two points raised in the valuable articles by yourself and Mr. Woodland on the Government of Secondary Schools in the November *Bulletin*.

'I am, as you know, in complete sympathy with the ideal of the democratic government of the school, and I find myself in agreement with many of the suggestions made in your articles. But I feel strongly that both of you are unfair

## The Social Approach to the Curriculum

to present-day headmasters in ascribing to them a desire to 'resist any interference with their prerogative' and retain autocratic powers.

'It is possible that I have been singularly fortunate, but I have found that the majority of headmasters with whom I have come in contact are honestly seeking the democracy you desire. There are autocrats, it is true, but in my experience they are a disappearing minority.

'There is this, too, to be said on the other side—that not a few headmasters who have tried to put democratic principles into effect in their schools have met with strong resistance from some members of their own staffs. The reasons are not always easy to see—some assistants shun the responsibility which democracy involves; others sense that the logical corollary is democracy in the classroom and are not prepared for this. Be that as it may, it is clear to me that the process must not be hurried and that no written "form of government" will of itself achieve it. And it will not be brought nearer by separating schoolmasters into the opposed categories of autocratic heads and democratic assistants.'

(We are pleased to publish Mr. Bradley's evidence from an opposite point of view, and are in hearty agreement with his concluding sentence. But we are bound to point out that there is general agreement among responsible writers, such as H. C. Dent and Lady Simon, that the existing structure of secondary school government gives autocratic powers to headmasters which are not merely wrong in principle but are frequently misused in practice. Our analysis of existing arrangements was intended to make suggestions to remedy the situation rather than to attach blame to persons. We would stress that enlightened headmasters are likely to get unsatisfactory results from assistants who have been conditioned by a system which encouraged acquiescence rather than individual responsibility for carrying out decisions collectively arrived at by the staff. The remedy, as Mr. Bradley suggests, must be founded on goodwill but must in the long run be firmly based upon 'articles of government' drawn up in the light of democratic principles.—Ed.)

Further particulars of the Conferences noted above, and of other activities of the English New Education, from the Organizing Secretary, 74 Earlham Road, Norwich. Please note change of address.



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The School is situated in beautiful and peaceful surroundings where the girls are able to enjoy an open-air life. A high standard of scholarship is maintained and at the same time an interest in creative work is developed by the practical and theoretical study of Art and Music. There are weekly discussions on World Affairs and more intensive work on Social and International problems is done by means of voluntary Study Circles.

**Apply to The Secretary.**

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster :* W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

A co-educational boarding school for boys and girls from 2-18 in the centre of a 2,000 acre estate engaged in the scientific development of rural industries. The school gives to Arts and Crafts, Dance, Drama and Music the special attention customary in progressive schools, and combines a modern outlook which is non-sectarian and international with a free and informal atmosphere. It aims to establish the high intellectual and academic standards of the best traditional schools, and the staff therefore includes a proportion of highly qualified scholars actively engaged in research as well as in teaching. With the help of an endowment fund it is planning and erecting up-to-date buildings and equipment.

Fees : £120-£160 per annum.

A limited number of scholarships are available, and further information about these may be obtained from the Headmaster.

## DARTINGTON HALL TOTNES DEVON

*Headmaster :* W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

### TEACHER TRAINING DEPARTMENT

A department for the training of teachers for Nursery School, Kindergarten, and Junior School work, under the direction of Miss Margaret Isherwood, M.A. Camb., N.F.U., formerly lecturer at the Froebel Education Institute. Preparation for the Teachers' Certificate of the National Froebel Union. Special attention to the needs and interests of 'free lance' students, particularly to those coming from abroad or those requiring short courses of study not leading to an examination. Excellent opportunity for contact with children of all ages and classes. Facilities of the Dartington Hall Estate available for students wishing to get some acquaintance with rural life and industries.

*Further information on application.*

## MONKTON WYLD SCHOOL, nr. CHARMOUTH, DORSET

*Principal :* ELEANOR URBAN, M.A. (Oxon.)

Practical and cultural education for boys and girls (8-18). School life and curriculum planned to help children to develop into co-operative and constructive citizens. School farm ensures healthy diet. T.T. cows.

Fees : £120.



# Directory of Schools—continued

## MALTMAN'S GREEN GERRARDS CROSS BUCKS

*Boarding School for Girls from  
nine to nineteen years of age*

*Headmistress : MISS CHAMBERS*

## BEDALES SCHOOL

PETERSFIELD HANTS (Founded 1893)

A Co-educational Boarding School for boys and girls from 11½–18. Separate Junior School for those from 5–11. Inspected by the Board of Education. Country estate of 150 acres. Home Farm. Education is on modern lines and aims at securing the fullest individual development in, and through, the community. Scholarships offered, including some for Arts and Music.

*Headmaster : F. A. MEIER, M.A. (Camb.)*

## THE GARDEN SCHOOL

Wycombe Court, Lane End  
Nr. High Wycombe.

Boarding School for girls (4–18). Estate of 60 acres in the Chiltern Hills. Sound academic work, with consideration for individual needs. Large staff of graduates. Vegetarian and ordinary diet. Open-air swimming pool.

FEES : £115 to £160 per annum.

*Principal : Mrs. M. A. ORMROD, B.A.*

## LEIGHTON PARK SCHOOL READING

Six Open Scholarships value £30–£100, and additional Exhibitions of £50–£40, for general ability, Music and Art, will be awarded in March.

Basic fees 150 gns. per annum, inclusive.

*For particulars apply to the Headmaster,  
E. B. CASTLE, M.A. (Oxon.)*

## ELMTREES, GREAT MISSENDEN BUCKS.

*Formerly Cudham Hall, nr. Sevenoaks and Paccombe  
House, nr. Sidmouth.*

A happy community of adults, children and animals living together in an atmosphere of friendliness and trust; essential conditions for growth. All-round progressive education for boys and girls between 3 and 12 years. Music, Dancing and Drama specially encouraged.

ELMTREES is a spacious Period house standing in its own lovely grounds on the fringe of the Village of Great Missenden. The School is within 5 minutes walk of the station and 30 miles from London on the Met. Line to Baker St.

*Principal - Miss M. K. Wilson  
Tel. Great Missenden 407.*

Schools for boys and girls  
from 3½ to 14 years

## LITTLE FELCOURT and FELCOURT SCHOOLS, EAST GRINSTEAD, SUSSEX,

are founded on the Montessori idea and aim to create the happy free atmosphere of a real home.

*Particulars from the Principal*

## ST. CHRISTOPHER SCHOOL LETCHEWORTH

Is an educational community of some 300 boys, girls and adults. The five school houses provide living and teaching accommodation for children of all ages. On the edge of the Garden City, amidst rural surroundings and beautiful gardens, they pursue their studies and cultivate courage, gaiety and a quiet mind.

## Wychwood School, Oxford

RECOGNIZED BY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Maximum of 80 girls (half day pupils) aged 10–18. Small classes, large graduate staff. Education in widest sense under unusually happy and free conditions. Exceptional health record. Elder girls when not entering universities can either specialize in Drawing, Design, Languages, Music, Handcraft, or take year's training at Wychlea (Domestic Science House). Playing fields, bathing pool.

*Principal : Miss MARGARET LEE, M.A. (Oxon.)  
Late University Tutor in English.  
Vice Principal : Miss E. M. SNODGRASS, B.A. (Oxon.)*

## OAKLEA

BUCKHURST HILL, ESSEX.  
*Recognized by Board of Education.*

Removed for duration of war to  
NESS STRANGE, near SHREWSBURY.  
90 Boarders taken in pleasant country house in exceptionally safe area. Beautiful countryside.  
*Principal : BEATRICE GARDNER.*

## ST. MARY'S SCHOOL WEDDERBURN ROAD, HAMPSTEAD,

now at  
YARKHILL COURT, nr. HEREFORD  
(Tel. : Tarrington 233).

Boys and Girls, 4–16. Emphasis on languages.  
Modern dietary.  
*Mrs. E. PAUL, Ph.D.*



# Directory of Schools—continued

## **WENNINGTON HALL** via LANCASTER

A hard-working, cheerful school community in which staff and children make an honest bid for equality, seeking together to achieve freedom of mind and spirit upon the basis of a disciplined self.

Co-educational, 7-17. Experienced graduate teachers. Magnificent hill and river country, good health, excellent cooking. Fees: £99-£110, with reductions in necessitous cases.

Headmaster: KENNETH C. BARNES, B.Sc.

## **FROEBEL PREPARATORY SCHOOL** Little Gaddesden, Herts.

Sound modern education for boys and girls aged 5-12 years. Inclusive boarding fee.

Headmistress: Miss O. B. PRIESTMAN, B.A., N.F.U.

**Edgewood**, Greenwich, Connecticut.  
A Boarding and Day School for Boys and Girls from Kindergarten to College. Twenty-acre campus, athletic field, skating, ski-ing, tennis and all outdoor sports. Teachers' Training Course. Illustrated Catalogue describes activities and progressive aim.  
E. E. LANGLEY, Principal, 201 Rockridge.

## **HALL MANOR** Nr. PEEBLES SCOTLAND

A modern school, beautifully situated, combining the best of the old with the best of the new in educational method. Staff qualified to prepare to University Entrance standard.

Fees from £120 p.a. inclusive.

Co-educational. Individual. International.  
WRITE SECRETARY.

**BUNCE COURT SCHOOL**, Trench Hall, Wem, Salop. Co-education, modern principles, prep. for School Cert. Practical and artistic activities; crafts, drawing, music, sports. Healthy food from own garden. Enquiries to: Anna Essinger, M.A., Principal.

**THE MOUNT SCHOOL**, MILL HILL, N.W.7. Now on Cotswolds, at Amberley, Nr. Stroud, Glos. Large qualified staff, small classes, centre for Oxford Examinations. Girls 5-18.—Mary Macgregor, B.A. (Lond), Camb. Teachers' Diploma.

**STANWAY SCHOOL**, DORKING. Home and Day co-educational Preparatory School to 14 years. Nursery Class. Specially designed building on high ground. Education as an atmosphere, a discipline, and a life.

**PINEHURST**, Goudhurst. On the beautiful Kentish Weald. Progressive School. Co-educational 3-12 years. Sound education. Crafts. Riding. Food Reform Diet. Sun and Air Bathing. Excellent health record. Miss M. B. Reid, Principal.

## **HURTWOOD SCHOOL**

Peaslake

Nr. Guildford

Co-educational from 3 years.

Modern building equipped for children in beautiful and healthy surroundings. The school aims at a high standard of scholarship in addition to health and happiness.

It wishes to attain a constructively progressive outlook without reaction, and believes that this can be done where tolerance is based upon sound knowledge and understanding.

Full particulars from the Principal:  
JANET JEWSON, M.A., N.F.U.

## **MOORLAND SCHOOL** CLITHEROE, LANCs.

Co-educational 3-12 years. Tel. Clitheroe 3.

The children lead vital, constructive lives, doing work of high standard in a happy natural atmosphere. Food reform and meat diets. Nature cure methods. Out-of-door activities.

Co-principals: Miss D. E. King, L.L.A., and Miss A. E. Crane.

## **MOIRA HOUSE** (of EASTBOURNE) now at **FERRY HOTEL, WINDERMERE**

Recognized by the Board of Education.

Boarding School for Girls from 6 to 18; small brothers (aged 6 to 8) also received.

Principals: Miss GERTRUDE A. INGHAM.  
Miss MONA SWANN.

Vice-Principal: Miss EDITH TIZZARD, B.A., Hons. Lond.

## **BEVERLEY SCHOOL** WOLFELEE, near HAWICK

Children two to twelve years, happy environment, out-of-door activities. Sound musical training. Excellent Diet.

Telephone No. Bonchester Bridge 2.

**THE COURT HOUSE**, PAINSWICK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE (formerly 38 Tite Street, Chelsea). Preparatory Boarding and Day School, boys 4 to 9 years, girls 4 to 12 years (14 during war time). The school aims to give a wide education on modern lines. Agnes Hunt, N.F.U., Evelyn Walters, N.F.U.

**ODAM HILL CHILDREN'S FARM**, ROMANSLEIGH, S. MOLTON, N. DEVON. A home and school for 25 boys and girls from 3-13 years. The school has been established for seven years in its present spacious planned premises. The full staff is reserved. Education on Froebel lines. Handicrafts, animal care, riding. Mrs. Falkner, B.A.

**HIGH MARCH**, BEACONSFIELD, BUCKS. A Progressive Preparatory School for girls to 14, and little boys. The School aims at giving a sound education with special emphasis on art, music, and creative activities. Headmistress: Miss Warr.

## **THE BELTANE SCHOOL**

Shaw Hill, Melksham, Wilts. Boys and girls from five to eighteen. Good academic standards. Undisturbed district.



## BURGESS HILL SCHOOL Co-educational

BOARDERS 5-11+ AT REDHURST, CRANLEIGH

DAY PUPILS 9-18 AT II OAK HILL PARK, N.W.3

HIGH STANDARD IN SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, ACADEMIC SUBJECTS, ART AND MUSIC.

GREAT SARRATT HALL, SARRATT, HERTS. Nursery and Preparatory Boarding School for children from birth to 10 years. Parents and school work in close co-operation. Group limited to twelve children. Qualified resident and visiting teachers. Principal: Gladys Raymond.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S SCHOOL, Belsize Lane, Hampstead with GLENDOWER SCHOOL, now at SYDENHAM HOUSE, LEWDOVN, DEVON. Beautiful house and grounds. Upper and Middle School for Girls. Preparatory for boys and girls 4-10. Boarding and Day.

## Directory of Training Centres

SWANLEY HORTICULTURAL COLLEGE, Ripley, Surrey, prepares students for B.Sc. Hort. (London) as well as for College Diploma and Certificates in Horticulture. Demand for trained women greater than supply. Apply for illustrated prospectus.

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through writing and speaking. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5/-. Classes 1/6. Help with publication, special speaking engagements, modern English teaching, stammering, and psychological problems. English for foreigners. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3.

## POSTS VACANT AND WANTED, etc.

ABBOTSHOLME SCHOOL, DERBYSHIRE.—ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIP TESTS. 14th-17th May, 1945. Again there are no vacancies in September, 1945, for boys of upper scholarship ages. Three scholarships are offered. One value £90 per annum for Senior School (age over 10.6 and under 11.6 on September 30th, 1945); one, value £60, for Junior School (age over 8 and under 10.6 on January 1st, 1946); one, value £30 per annum, for either group.

REQUIRED in January, resident Assistant Mistress to teach Biology and Geography to School Certificate Standard, or two Mistresses if suitable subsidiary subjects can be offered.—Mrs. M. A. Ormrod, B.A., The Garden School, Lane End, Nr. High Wycombe.

REQUIRED in January at Girls Private Recognised Boarding School (100), young Assistant Junior Mistress (Froebel or P.N.E.U. trained). Salary according to qualifications and experience. Apply: Principal, Moira House School, Windermere; returning to Eastbourne after Armistice.

JUNGLE GYM wanted urgently, new or second-hand. Reply, stating dimensions and present location, to Training College School, Bedford.

HOUSEMOTHER required, Little Felcourt Nursery School, East Grinstead. Understanding of children. Knowledge of Housekeeping. Apply Principal.

TEACHERS with writing and drawing ability wanted for free-lance work on educational subjects. Send details to Box No. 279.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL, Yarkhill Court, near Hereford, seeks teacher for English subjects for January, children aged 9-14. Possibility of future headship. London branch will be reopened in near future.

A CO-EDUCATION school of 60 children needs a Resident English Teacher of either sex. The candidate must be prepared to assume complete responsibility and show originality and an enthusiasm for drama and film work. Subsidiary French and games. Apply, giving qualifications and salary required: The Headmaster, Pendragon Hall, Bath Road, Reading.

VACANCY in boarding school in N. West England for experienced teacher interested in progressive school work with children 7-10 years. Montessori training or experience desirable but not essential. Country activities, crafts, etc. Box No. 280.

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